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## INTERNATIONAL

### INSTITUTE MEMBERS DISCUSS EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 4, Apr 79 signed to press 19 Mar 79 pp 102-110

[Roundtable discussion on elections to European Parliament: "Direct Elections to the Europarlament--Problems, Contradictions"]

[Text] Elections to the EEC Parliament will be held in June 1979. For the first time this body of the "Nine," whose functions are primarily consultative, will be elected by direct ballot and will not be formed of deputies appointed by the national parliaments, as has been the case hitherto (the Europarlament has existed since 1958).

In connection with the fact that a struggle of forces pursuing different political goals has developed around the impending elections and that the Western mass communications media are devoting a great deal of attention to this event, the editorial office considered it useful to propose that a group of scientific assistants of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations express their thoughts on this question at MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA roundtable. We publish below the exchange of opinions which took place.

Editorial Office

S. Madzoyevskiy: "Political Goals"

The question of the first direct elections to the European Parliament, which are to be held in June 1979, is occupying a quite significant place in the political life of the West European countries incorporated in the "Nine" of the Common Market.

This is at first sight a paradoxical phenomenon. As is known, according to the terms of the 1957 Treaty of Rome (article 137) and in evolved EEC practice over the last 20 years the Parliament's powers and its actual influence on the decision-making process have been very modest. Yet no widening of powers is envisaged upon the transition from indirect to direct elections. Moreover, the legislation of certain members of the "Nine" specially insists on preservation of the present, very limited prerogatives of the Europarlament, which amount to purely consultative functions of "observation and supervision."

Thus the only change is in the method of the elections to a political institution whose activity has yet to make a noticeable impression either on people's minds or on political history. Yet in a number of member-countries, Britain, France and Denmark, for example, the question of the elections has long been the subject of an acute intrapolitical struggle, and there has been a galvanization everywhere of the process of the formation within a Community framework of intercountry party associations, groupings and blocs whose mission is, in particular, to represent in the Europarlament the interests of this or the other class stratum on the scale of the bulk of capitalist Europe.

How is this to be explained? The immediate cause, in our view, is the fact that in essence, although not in form, the method of conducting the elections is directly connected with the functions of the Europarlament. Hitherto the EEC parliamentarians have not been elected by anyone (apart from their party brethren). They have been answerable to no one and have had neither status nor grounds, in accordance with the concepts of bourgeois democracy, for claiming active participation in the exercise of political power within the EEC framework. The transition to the method of direct elections could change this situation. It is believed in the ruling heights and even in broader spheres that the very fact of direct elections will inevitably lead to the Europarlament's increased relative significance in the system of the "Nine's" effective political mechanisms.

Whence primarily also the exacerbation of the intrapolitical struggle in the member-countries on the question of direct elections and the leap forward in the development of a network of intercountry associations of political parties of this or the other persuasion (conservatives, liberals, social democrats and so forth).

A number of questions arises in this connection. What is the main political purpose of the introduction of direct elections from the viewpoint of the "Nine's" ruling circles? How do the bosses of the Community conceive of the actual correlation of its executive and legislative bodies after the elections? What is the role of the "reform" of the Parliament in the constant antagonism of the federalist and confederalist tendencies in the Community's development? To what extent is it logical to speak of the emergence of a new type of contradictions between the national parliaments and the EEC

Parliament? At what stage of development is the process of the formation and definition of the aims of the new intercountry party associations? What is the position of the left forces in the countries of the "Nine" on the question of the upcoming elections?

At the start of our roundtable I would like to dwell briefly on the first of these questions.

As is known, it was the intention of the authors of the Treaty of Rome and their successors to assign the Parliament a definite role in the overall system of the political institutions of West European integration. Here the ruling circles of the members were guided by and large by the same aims and considerations as in each country individually. According to their ideas, at the contemporary stage of the evolution of the correlation of class forces on a world and national scale the presence of an elective body (the Parliament) as an integral part of the mechanism of the exercise of state power is an essential prerequisite of the vitality of the developed capitalist society and an important means of the preservation of the hegemony of capital. In this specific instance it is a question, it seems to us, of a far-reaching political calculation connected with the development of the West European integration process as a whole.

In line with the extension of the integration process in the economic and social spheres there is a gradual increase in the number of elements of the members' social life which are affected by the decision adopted not within the framework of the national political institutions but in the depths of the Community's bodies mechanisms. This accumulation is proceeding simultaneously in a multitude of spheres--from price-forming to the conditions of highway transport and from fishing to migration of the labor force, not to mention international trade and foreign or currency policy. The estrangement of the ordinary individual from the centers where decisions are made directly concerning his material and spiritual interests is objectively intensifying under the conditions of capitalist Europe. Subjectively this process is being apprehended by a substantial section of the West European public as the encroachment of the EEC's faceless self-controlling apparatus on the national political institutions' sovereign rights. While the Community Parliament, which has hitherto had no direct relations with the electorate and which performs the virtually purely illusory role of bureaucratic apparatus, is perceived by the population of the members mainly as an element alien to it.

Under these conditions the ruling circles, having an interest in reinforcing the political foundations of the West European center, see the introduction of direct elections to the Parliament as an essential means for introducing in the consciousness of the popular masses the idea of the Community as something that is "theirs." The ruling circles of the EEC are obviously counting on the very process of universal suffrage for the Parliament's candidates and permanent direct relations between the electorate and the deputies influencing the public consciousness in precisely this direction.



As a whole, from the viewpoint of the capitalist class the direct elections are intended as a means of considerable importance of the reinforcement of its own political hegemony within the framework of the "Nine."

I. Manfred: "The Democratic Screen of the Brussels Bureaucracy"

I would like to draw attention to S. Madzoyevskiy's final thesis. He speaks of the introduction of direct elections to the European Parliament as a means of reinforcing the political domination of the West European bourgeoisie within the Community framework. The natural question arises in this connection of what prevented the EEC ruling circles taking advantage of this opportunity earlier and of why they embarked on the realization of the corresponding provision of the Treaty of Rome after the passage of two decades.

We will find an explanation for this seemingly illogical situation if we turn to the history of the formation of the system of the Community's political institutions. The development of its political system, whose foundations were laid by the Treaty of Rome, proceeded in the direction of an expansion of the role of the executive power. As a result absolute political power came to be concentrated in the Council of Ministers, its subsidiary body, in the Committee of Permanent Representatives and also in the Commission. These institutions have been solidly underpinned in the 1970's with the formation of a system of "political cooperation" to coordinate the foreign policy of the members and the Community Council (European Council) at the heads of state and government level, which was proclaimed the EEC's "highest political instance," which were not envisaged by the Treaty of Rome. Only then did the leaders of the "Europe of the Nine" decide to take a step in the direction of enhancing the role of the European Parliament, which had dragged out a highly illusory existence and had by no means made use of its formally accorded right of supervising the activity of the other institutions. It is significant that the decision on the creation of the Community Council was adopted simultaneously with the fundamental decision on conducting the first direct elections to the European Parliament--in December 1974, at a conference of heads of state and government of the "Nine."

Thus the transition to direct elections to the Parliament and, consequently, a certain enhancement of its role were evidently intended primarily as a democratic screen concealing the growth of the bureaucratic apparatus, which is appropriating ever increasing power and authority.

A few words on the question of the future role of the new parliament. In our view, it will hardly be endowed even now with new powers, particularly in the legislative sphere. For such a broadening of its prerogatives it would be necessary to conclude a new international treaty of the Treaty of Rome type. And the EEC's ruling circles would hardly agree to this now. Their decision to hold direction elections to the European Parliament, without an official change in the powers of this institution, is a kind of compromise between the need to have an elected parliamentary institution in the EEC and their reluctance to endow it with great authority.



At the same time the direct elections to the European Parliament will possibly contribute to a certain increase in this institution's authority and enable it in some instances to exert a certain influence on the other institutions or at least pretend to such a role.

A. Kokeyev: "The Result of a Compromise"

In the business of the formation of the Common Market's "political super-structure" paramount significance has always been attached to perfecting precisely the executive bodies, and a most important landmark in this process was the creation in the latter half of the 1970's of the highest instance in the shape of the Community Council composed of the heads of state and government. Against this background both the introduction precisely now of direction elections to the Parliament and the 20-year delay in implementing this measure appear logical. At the same time I would like to draw attention to another component of this problem which relates to the sphere of interstate contradictions within the framework of the "Nine."

As is known, since the signing of the Treaty of Rome the question of the Parliament's role in the complex of the Common Market's political institutions has not been the least factor in the constant antagonism between the supporters of the correspondingly federalist and confederalist paths of the Community's development, chiefly between the FRG and Italy on the one hand and France and, later, Britain on the other. Without going into details, we would recall here merely the fact that it was precisely the unsuccessful attempt of the FRG and its supporters to impose on Paris an extension of the powers of the Parliament (and Commission) which was the immediate cause of the Common Market's political crisis in the mid-1960's and of France's temporary boycott of the integrated institutions.

The formation of the Community Council at the highest interstate level may, in my view, be considered the result of a compromise, important in its consequences, between the supporters of a "Europe of fatherlands" and a "federal Europe" and between the basically Anglo-French and West German-Italian concepts, a compromise directly related to the "reform" of the EEC Parliament.

The main content of this compromise is the subordination of all the mechanisms of executive authority to a single higher center--the Council composed of the heads of state and government. The potential for an increase in the role of the Parliament and the Commission or changes in the rules of the functioning of the Council of Ministers is retained in full, but all the key decisions on the realization of this potential are made on an interstate basis in the Community Council. The solution of an extremely disputed question concerning the status and role of the Commission chairman at the annual conferences of the heads of government and state of the leading powers of the capitalist world is interesting and indicative in this connection. Although, as is known, he attends these conferences, recently Roy Jenkins has participated in them only within the bounds determined by the Council in advance.

As far as the question of direct elections, which for many years were the subject of fruitless debate between the federalists and their opponents, are concerned, it has now been resolved by the Community Council in the spirit of the same broad compromise. The concession on the part of France and Britain amounts to the fact that, despite all the hesitation, particularly in London, they nevertheless agreed to a measure which will indisputably ultimately be used to reinforce the supranational principle. For their part, the FRG, Italy and the majority of the small members for the first time renounced linking the introduction of direct elections with a broadening of the Parliament's powers for an extended period.

Thus the main contradiction on the question of the structure of the Common Market's political superstructure remains. The decisive clashes, on the Parliament's powers also, have merely been postponed to a later date.

T. Alekseyeva: "The Positions of the Small Countries"

The majority of the Community's small countries have been forced at this stage to abandon their prolonged efforts to link the introduction of direct elections to the Parliament with an extension of its current powers and an increase in the significance of the Community's supranational institutions. However, it must be said that the positions of the ruling circles of the small EEC countries with respect to the prospects of West European integration are far from identical. Each of these countries would like development to proceed along a path affording it the most favorable opportunities.

I will illustrate this with the example of two countries--the Netherlands and Denmark. Whereas an intensification of the trend toward Europe's political integration is desirable from the viewpoint of the Netherlands' ruling circles, Denmark, to the contrary, is more inclined to the preservation of the present situation. The position of the Netherlands as a whole approaches those of the FRG and Italy, while that of Denmark approaches the British position.

Having been a supporter of political integration for many years, the Netherlands also actively supported the idea of direct elections. The bill on this subject was passed by an overwhelming majority in the Netherlands Parliament, which reflected the traditional unity of views of the country's largest parties on European policy. The Dutch ruling circles also advocate an extension of the powers of the European Parliament, but they have not yet encountered support here from the majority of the Community countries.

In Denmark, however, discussion of the question of direct elections developed into a most bitter intrapolitical struggle affecting practically the entire range of economic and political problems which have arisen for the country as a consequence of its joining the Common Market. In the summer of 1977 some 42 percent of the Danish population opposed direct elections to the European Parliament. At the same time the majority of members of the Danish Parliament (almost 80 percent of the deputies), trade union leaders, large-scale farmers and business circles supports direct elections.

Currently two major party-political groupings have evolved in Denmark, one of which supports direct elections, the other being opposed. The first includes the ruling Social Democratic Party, the Venstre (liberal) Party and the Democratic Center. In addition to the Communist Party of Denmark, the opponents of direct elections include the Socialist People's Party, the Danish Legal Union and the Left Socialist Party and also a number of organizations like the "People's Movement for Denmark's Withdrawal from the EEC."

Undoubtedly, the small countries, which do not, moreover, constitute a unified grouping within the Community, will not determine the principle paths and directions of the further integration process in the EEC. Nevertheless, they also are doing their bit to insure that the question of the "unification of Europe" be at this stage the subject of acute political contradictions and confrontation between different and, at times, opposite aims, interests and forces.

#### A. Lebedev: "The Fate of National Sovereignty"

Even if there are to be no serious changes in this body's powers, the forthcoming direct elections to the European Parliament will exert, in my view, a definite influence on the structure of relations between the Community countries.

The prospects of changes in the status and functions of the European Parliament have not only resuscitated the old problem of national sovereignty but have perhaps given it a new dimension. From the time the Common Market was created--that is, over a period of two decades--the contradictions between the historically evolved powers of the national state-political institutions and the powers of the Community's political institutions created on the basis of a compromise between the countries have been a source of tense political struggle.

During the debates and disputes on this question particular attention has been paid to counterposing the "open" nature of the national organs of bourgeois democracy (among which parliament occupied a central place) and the particularly "closed" Brussels bureaucracy. Yet today, as an elected Community Parliament is being created, a new sphere of rivalry is emerging--between the EEC Parliament and the members' national parliaments.

Such rivalry could be manifested, for example, in the sphere of supervision of the activity of the EEC institutions, where the functions of the European Parliament envisaged by the Treaty of Rome are currently almost exclusively performed by the national parliaments. The same thing also applies to the problem of "European legislation." Although the Europarliament has hitherto lacked the powers which could have really infringed the powers of the national parliaments, attempts to amend this system and gradually impart to the EEC Parliament limited legislative functions are possible in the future.

It is also essential to take account of the fact that the previous system of "dual mandates" as an indispensable condition of filling the seats in the European Parliament is abolished as a result of the introduction of direct elections. Many parties and individual politicians even of West Europe are confronted with the new question of the correlation of the significance of the national and European parliaments as an arena of political struggle.

The problem of notifying broad circles of the population about the activity and policy of the European Community is of particular significance. The lack of timely, correct and intelligible information is giving rise to the legitimate dissatisfaction of the public of the West European countries. Whereas the platform of the national parliaments has hitherto been used to obtain information in this sphere (in the form of questions to the appropriate minister, debates on the government's "European" policy and so forth), the European Parliament will obviously assume this role to a certain extent after the direction elections.

All these questions are disturbing the public of the Community countries even today. They are evoking particularly big arguments and heated passions in Britain. The leaders of the Conservative Party fear that the proportional voting system for the elections to the Europarlament will in the future be introduced in British internal political practice also. This, in the opinion of M. Thatcher and her supporters, could lead to a reduction in Tory representation in the House of Commons to the benefit of the laborites and liberals. For this round of direct elections the conservatives succeeded in imposing the adoption in Britain of the traditional majority voting system, which served as one reason for dragging out the preparations for elections to the Europarlament and their postponement. This problem, however, awaits a definitive solution in the future for, according to the terms of the Treaty of Rome, the European Parliament must sooner or later be elected in accordance with a single electoral system common for all the Community's members.

The question of the elective national bodies being replaced by a single supranational body has not arisen in practice and will hardly arise in the immediate future. However, it seems to me that any increase in the powers of the European Parliament will inevitably entail an exacerbation of the conflict between the legislative authority at the integrated and national levels.

#### S. Sokol'skiy: "The Europarties"

The emergence of a qualitatively new stage in the development of the contradictions between the national political institutions and the institutions of the EEC has engendered in recent years a new direction in the activity of almost all political parties of the bulk of capitalist Europe. It is a question of the creation of inter-nation party associations. The European People's Party of Christian Democrats, the Federation of Liberal Parties and the Union of Social Democratic Parties have already been formed and are operating.



In connection with the forthcoming direct elections the bulk of the work on mobilizing the electorate falls to the lot of the party alliances. Although candidates are chosen by the national party organizations, the "Europarties" have been assigned a definite role in this process. Thus the rules of the Federation of Liberal Parties stipulate that the list of candidates from each country must be coordinated with the leading bodies of the Federation.

Another and more important task of the party alliances is the timely coordination of the party's standpoints on the questions to be discussed by the Parliament to prevent the inter-national party factions in the European Parliament having on each occasion to spend a long time formulating a common position. For this purpose all three associations have issued joint program declarations which set forth their ideas on questions of the Community's institutional arrangement, its relations with the outside world and economic and social policy.

The liberals adopted their "election program theses" in November 1977. Their example was followed in March 1978 by the Christian democrats, who published the "election program of the European People's Party." The social democrats encountered certain difficulties on this path. Because of disagreements between the national parties, they decided after lengthy negotiations, to confine themselves to a brief election appeal to the electorate compiled on the basis of the "political declaration" adopted at the Brussels meeting in June 1978 of leaders of social democratic and socialist parties.

In evaluating the program documents of the intraparty associations it has to be taken into consideration that the national detachments incorporated therein differ appreciably from one another in the extent of their influence, the social composition of the bulk of the membership and the electorate and in political standpoints. They include ruling and opposition parties, and the former, moreover, are frequently in coalitions with other political forces (thus in the FRG, for example, the liberals' coalition partners are the social democrats, but in Holland they are the Christian democrats). As a consequence of all these circumstances, the programs of the interparty associations are of a clearly expressed compromise nature and abound in platitude and streamlined wording which may be interpreted variously.

It should be noted that the Community's party-political infrastructure is still extremely amorphous. This was indicated, in particular, by the circumstances accompanying the creation in April 1978 of the so-called European Democratic Union (EDU), which calls itself a "worker community of Christian democratic, conservative and other parties of the moderate center." The EDU incorporated certain Christian democratic parties (but not the Christian democrats of Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands) and also the British and Danish conservatives, the French Gaullists and a number of conservative parties of states which are not in the Community (Spain, Portugal, Greece, the Scandinavian countries, Austria, Switzerland and Malta). The initiators of the EDU do not conceal the fact that a goal of this "rightwing international" is an attempt to somehow anticipate future

coalitions in the European Parliament primarily in the plane of the establishment of close cooperation between the conservatives and Christian democrats in order to deprive the social democratic faction of a relative majority.

Changes in the party spectrum of the Community could also occur as a result of shifts in the party-political structures of the individual member states. We should recall, for example, the new party formation in France--the Union for French Democracy. The parties it incorporates belong at the "European" level partially to the Federation of Liberal Parties (republicans and radical socialists) and partially to the Christian democratic European People's Party (Social Democratic Center). Nor can the regional parties and also the new political movements of the "civilian initiatives" type or the so-called "green" parties of ecologists be disregarded entirely.

It is perfectly obvious that in the foreseeable future the activity of the political parties will develop, as before, within a national framework. Nevertheless, the mere fact of the creation of interparty alliances testifies that a certain galvanization of the bourgeois-democratic political life of the countries of the "Nine" not only on the periphery, so to speak, but also in the center cannot be ruled out.

#### G. Bulryavtsev: "Left Forces and the Europarlament"

I would like to touch on a question directly connected with the alignment of the sociopolitical forces and the prospects of the class struggle in the "Nine," namely, the question of the tactics of the left forces, primarily the communist parties, in the struggle for democratic transformation in West Europe.

The West European bourgeoisie aspires to develop with the help of political integration an offensive against the positions of the working people and the forces which express their interests. The Europarlament is assigned an appreciable role in these plans.

The "European framework" is intended, in particular, to reduce the communists, who are highly influential in certain countries, to a secondary role in a parliament of an integrated grouping.

The Political Declaration of the Conference of Communist Parties of European Capitalist Countries (January 1974, Brussels) observed that the question of the communists' activity in relation to the EEC is posed differently in this body's different countries: thus in the countries which founded the Common Market the communists advocate the Community's democratization and are struggling against the domination of the monopolies; in the countries which joined the EEC later they advocate withdrawal from this organization; and in the remaining European countries they oppose their integration with the "Nine" in the future. This arrangement is also largely characteristic of the communists of the "Nine" concerning elections to the Europarlament.



All the communists have accepted the challenge thrown at them by the ruling circles and have initiated preparations for the elections. At the same time each party, as agreed at the Luxembourg consultative meeting in July 1978, has formulated an independent position in relation to the European elections.

The communist parties of Great Britain and Denmark are appealing for votes for the representatives of the forces which will fight for their countries' withdrawal from the Community (in the first case for the leftwing laborites and in the second for the candidates of the "People's Movement for Denmark's Withdrawal from the EEC"). The German Communist Party is adopting a negative position with respect to the forthcoming elections to the European Parliament. The discriminatory policy pursued by the Community's ruling circles in relation to the communists can be seen particularly clearly in the example of the latter: an electoral law is in effect in the FRG which establishes a 5-percent barrier for representation in the European Parliament.

The communist parties of the Benelux have decided to use their participation in the elections to spread discussion of the most important domestic and foreign policy problems confronting their countries.

The French Communist Party is opposed to a reinforcement of the supranational elements in the Community's political superstructure. At the same time, proceeding from the fact of the Community's existence, it declares its readiness to participate in its political institutions in order to promote their democratization, defend the working people's interests and struggle against the domination of the financial oligarchy and the diktat of the multinational companies.

In the opinion of the Italian Communist Party [PCI], a European Parliament elected by universal suffrage is objectively capable of strengthening the democratic element in the Community's structure as a counterweight to the interstate institutions which have hitherto been developing beyond the control of the public, in which connection the PCI advocates an extension of the powers and an increase in the role of the Parliament in the EEC's political superstructure.

Since the mid-1970's the PCI has been energetically involved in activity aimed at achieving mutual understanding on the problems of West European development between the communist parties on the one hand and the socialist and social democratic parties on the other. However, the policy of alliance with the communists is pursued, as is known, only by a minority of West Europe's socialist and social democratic parties and is not yet supported by the leaders of the Socialist International. On the whole, the social democratic parties of West Europe's Romance countries treat the problem of the unity of action of the region's democratic forces with greater understanding than their northern comrades in arms, although certain positive shifts are occurring even among the latter, as the contacts between the PCI and the social democrats of the Scandinavian countries and Great Britain have shown.

Thus the left forces in the countries of the "Nine" aspire to counterpose the solidarity of the working class to the international unity of capital. This is putting the Community's ruling circles on their guard. They fear the creation of a unified political front of left forces within the framework of the whole region. And it should be noted in this connection that the national electoral laws on whose basis the direct elections will be conducted far from everywhere insure the fair representation of left political forces in the European Parliament.

#### D. Mel'nikov: "Contradictory Consequences"

It will take a certain time for the solution of the important and complex problems born of the formation of the pan-West European Parliament on the basis of direct elections. However, it is clear even now that the impending change in the method of determining the Europarlament's composition is not a chance phenomenon of passing significance but a quite substantial shift in the evolution of the Community's political structure conditioned by the development of the West European integration process as a whole. The direct elections will not lead, initially, at least, to any radical, "sensational" changes in the Community. But in the overall context of the development of political integration the emergence of such an essentially new institution could modify certain conditions of the class and political struggle in West Europe.

From the viewpoint of the interests of the people's masses, the impending "reform" will evidently have contradictory consequences. On the one hand the establishment of direct relations between the electorate and the parliamentary deputies will open a new channel of public influence on the behavior of the Brussels bureaucracy. In line with an increase in the Parliament's relative significance in the system of the EEC's political institutions there will probably be a certain diminution in the unchecked proceedings and autocratic nature of the activity of the Commission, the Council of Ministers and the Court. At the same time the introduction of direct elections will, it seems to us, initiate a period of an intensification of the aspirations to erode the sovereign national parliaments.

The same duality is obviously inherent in the process of the formation of the party associations and centers on an intercountry basis, the process of a certain consolidation of political-class forces within the framework of the "Nine" and in the crystallization of the more clear-cut alinement of these forces in the Parliament. On the one hand the proletariat and its allies may gain something from the cooperation of the working class parties in the Community's political institutions. On the other, the consolidation of the rightwing political forces is proceeding in parallel, and "internationals" of German, French, British and other Christian democrats, republicans and conservatives are being formed and will obviously function in the new makeup of the Europarlament.

All this will undoubtedly require the most unremitting attention. An acute interimperialist struggle and internal political struggle in individual member-countries on the question of the powers of the new Parliament obviously lie ahead. There is no doubt that their course will be heavily influenced by the overall economic and political conditions in the "Nine" and the profound contradictions between the participants on such problems as the agricultural system, the EEC members' mutual relations in the foreign currency sphere and the possible enlargement of the Community with Greece, Spain and Portugal.

There is in prospect a certain consolidation of the main political forces on both sides of the front of class struggle within the EEC framework. This process is leading to a new exacerbation of social-class antagonisms and party-political struggle and also intercountry contradictions and conflicts on the scale of the entire "Europe of trusts."

In general, the elections to the European Parliament will not solve a single one of the problems in whose solution the working people are really interested --curbing the arbitrariness of the monopolies operating via the Brussels bureaucratic apparatus, satisfaction of the urgent requirements of the struggle against inflation, a reduction in unemployment and an improvement in the working people's qualitative living conditions.

On the other hand, in connection with the elections to the European Parliament there will be a clear increase in the threat to the states' national independence and the peoples' sovereign rights. The EEC's development throughout the more than 20 years of its existence has shown that the infringement of the national sovereignty of each country participating in the Community has caused enormous harm to the interests of the peoples of these countries and developed into increased taxes and prices and the growth of unemployment. Yet the idea of the "obsolescence" of national sovereignty and of the need to reinforce supranational authority within the Community framework has been made the basis of the organization of the elections to the European Parliament. The voting for a deputy for the "all-European body" is designed to create the impression of the electorate's participation in a kind of supranational sacrament, even if the body it elects will perform a very limited role. Evidently the question of the defense of the national sovereignty of certain countries in connection with the forthcoming elections and in the course of the activity of the Europarliament itself is acquiring great importance. It may be expected that a bitter political struggle will develop around this question.

A second question which is acquiring particular keenness in connection with the elections to the European Parliament is that of the EEC's further development as a special economic and, to a certain extent, political grouping. In what direction will this development proceed from the viewpoint of all-European interests? Along the path of the grouping's further isolation, its opposition to the other part of Europe--the socialist states--and an intensification of the features determining its monopolist character? The ideas of

an encouragement of just such a version have been made the basis of the organization of the elections to the European Parliament. In any event, the reactionary parties say in their election speeches that they would like to take advantage of this institution to assert this antisocialist and anti-popular direction in the development and activity of the Community. And from this viewpoint the outcome of the election struggle, that is, the correlation of forces between the various political parties and groupings which will take shape in the Europarlament as a result of the elections will be of considerable significance.

But perhaps the Community will proceed in the direction of an easing of the confrontation with the socialist states, the establishment of normal relations with the socialist integrated grouping of CEMA and the strengthening of all-European economic cooperation on the basis of the principles formulated in the Helsinki Final Act? Such a path could only be welcomed. It would be preferable for the broadest masses of the population of the West European countries and would be of mutual benefit to both the socialist and capitalist states of Europe.

The elections to the European Parliament are confronting the EEC states and their peoples with many important and complex problems. The progressive forces will fight at these elections for increased all-European cooperation, peace and security and the people's democratic rights and freedoms.

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#### RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN ETHIOPIA DESCRIBED

Moscow MIZHDIAKOVNAYA ZHURN' in Russian No 4, 1977 signed to press  
29 Mar 79 pp 13-17

[Article by S. Sergeyev: "The Formation of a New Ethiopia"]

[Text] A national-democratic revolution began in Ethiopia 5 years ago, which toppled the feudal-monarchical regime. The Ethiopian revolution was one of the important events of the 1970's for the nations of Africa and continues to draw world attention. Along with the victory achieved by national-patriotic forces in Angola and Mozambique, the creation of a new Ethiopia, which selected a path of development with a socialist orientation, was a major blow to the positions of imperialism and neocolonialism in Africa, strengthening the front presented by the progressive states.

The formation of the new Ethiopia is a complex and lengthy process reflecting certain specific conditions in which the Ethiopian revolution continues to develop.

In the first place, the revolution in Ethiopia took place in a predominantly feudal society, but one which had already undergone a certain degree of development and leaned toward capitalism. At the beginning, spontaneous protests by individual groups of workers against Haile Selassie's oppressive monarchy, which combined feudal and capitalist oppression, developed into a bitter class struggle embracing the entire nation. The revolution was taken up by broad sections of the population, both rural and urban, directly affected the interests of various classes and political forces, and evoked a struggle among them. To a certain degree the lengthy duration of the revolution and the gradual pace of its development resulted from this. The revolution steadily grew, changing from a struggle against feudalism and the monarchy to a struggle against capitalism and bourgeois forms of government, a struggle for real liberation of the oppressed masses and for the creation of a society based on socialist principles.

In the second place, one must not forget the fact that the Ethiopian revolution took place in a nation which was extremely backward socially and economically, in a situation of the most political oppression and a ban on democratic



organizations and parties. The peasantry, which made up 90 percent of the nation's population of 30 million, accounted for the bulk of the workers (kushunskiyevaya). The working (rabochiy) class was small, and the leadership of the trade union association had reformist sentiments. They had close ties with the monarchy and with the industrial centers of the Western nations. Underground student organizations in the nation, the only groups for the study of Marxian-Leninism, had practically no contact with the working masses. When the revolution broke out, it was therefore not headed by a member of a progressive party with a clear cut political platform and program of action.

In this situation the only organized force capable of heading a movement to overthrow the existing system was the Ethiopian army, or more precisely, the lower military strata--soldiers, sergeants and junior officers--headed by members of the progressive military intelligentsia. The Armed Forces Committee was formed out of these army groups. It removed essentially all of the old generals from the army leadership, individuals with close ties to the monarchy and to the feudal aristocracy, and deposed Emperor Haile Selassie and created the Provisional Military Administrative Council, the highest political and state organ of revolutionary Ethiopia.

In the third place, the Ethiopian revolution occurred in a multi-national country in which the working masses of many ethnic groups were subjected not only to social oppression but to national and religious oppression as well, which often led to an atmosphere giving rise to nationalistic, separatist moods in various areas of the nation. The overthrow of the hated regime, which was associated in the eyes of many Ethiopians with the nation's domination by the Amharic ethnic group and by the Coptic Christian religion, served as a stimulus to the growth of a desire by certain groups to establish themselves as nations' entities, and to the intensification of breakaway efforts within the Ethiopian state. The absence of a common progressive political program in Ethiopia made it difficult to unite the workers of various nations in a common revolutionary struggle. The ousted regimes and their reactionary nationalist groups took advantage of this. As a result of "national liberation fronts" sprang up like mushrooms in the nation--among the farmers of the Tigris, the nomadic Afars and Somalis, the Galla herdsmen, and so forth. Separatist organizations in Eritrea stepped up their activities sharply. With all of these circumstances the Ethiopian revolution was faced with the urgent issue of uniting the nation and preventing its disintegration and division.

In the fourth place, the external situation in which the Ethiopian revolution emerged and developed was complicated. It is an indisputable fact that the steady consolidation of forces for peace, progress and socialism in the international arena, headed by the Soviet Union and other nations of the socialist commonwealth, and the extensive successes achieved by the national liberation movement on the continent of Africa provided powerful moral-political support for the Ethiopian revolution. At the same time, one must not forget the fact that the Ethiopian revolution directly affected important interests



at the West, primarily the United States, in the strategically important area of the Red Sea and the Near East, and this caused the imperialist forces to step up their activities to provide support for Ethiopian counterrevolution, to organize reactionary conspiracies, to complicate Ethiopia's relations with neighboring countries and to create dangerous centers of tension on its borders.

Closely related to the actions taken by these forces were attempts by Arab reactionary forces to establish their own supremacy in the Red Sea by separating Eritrea from Ethiopia. Openly interfering in Ethiopia's internal affairs, reactionary Arab regimes stepped up their support to Eritrean and other separatist nationalist organizations. International reactionary forces took advantage of Somalia's ancient claims to Ethiopia's eastern regions, claims which led to bloody warfare between those two nations. The new Ethiopia was thus forced into an armed struggle not only against internal counterrevolution but against outside aggression as well. It was during this period, the most difficult time for the revolution, that the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal socialist nations provided Ethiopia with crucial assistance for repelling foreign aggression. This international assistance made it possible to protect the revolutionary conquests and to defend the nation's territorial integrity.

All of these internal and external circumstances affected and to a certain degree continue to affect the course of the Ethiopian revolution and the direction and pace of the reforms. The main result of the Ethiopian revolution over the past 5 years has been the fact that it was able under difficult conditions to make an important advance in its progressive development, it stood firm in its bitter struggle against internal and external reaction, demonstrated its ability to survive and forced the world to recognize the new Ethiopia as a full member of the international community.

The consolidation and building of the revolutionary-democratic nucleus of the Provisional Military Administrative Council and the rallying of the nation's revolutionary forces and the workers around it constitute one of the most important prerequisites for the further development of the revolution. The process of this consolidation has taken place in a situation of intense class struggle, in which the leading elements of the Ethiopian revolution were also caught up. The Military Council overcame a large number of crises and quelled the conspiracies of those opposed to intensification of the revolution, emerging united from those trials. It was controlled by the progressive wing headed by acknowledged leader of the Ethiopian revolution Wondemagegn Haile Mariam, who became chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council in February 1977.

The creation of an avant-garde political party remains one of the main tasks of the Ethiopian revolution today. Various forms of preparatory work toward this goal are being carried out by the Provisional Military Administrative Council. A great deal of attention is given to political and ideological work and to the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist principles among the masses.

Political education seminars created at enterprises, at state institutions and within local agencies of the self-government continue to function. Ideological cadres are being trained at the Political School under the Provisional Military Administrative Council, where active participants in the revolution come from the workers, peasants, military personnel and the intelligentsia in order for that purpose. Special importance is attached to the uniting of Marxist-Leninist organizations which came into being during the revolution and to turning them into the nucleus of a future workers party.

The Alliance of Marxist-Leninist Organizations of Ethiopia (SMLOE) was formed in 1977, in which the "Sedat" ("Revolutionary Flame") has the leading role. At the regular congress in July 1978 the Provisional Military Administrative Council adopted the decision to help strengthen the solidarity of the SMLOE in every possible way. It is not an easy task to create a party based on Marxist-Leninist principles in a nation in which the working class is still very new and where the influence of petty bourgeois attitudes is great among the peasantry and the progressive members of the intelligentsia. Finally, the Marxist-Leninist organizations themselves lack experience in working with the masses, some of them are still influenced by sectarianism, and views and feelings alien to Marxism-Leninism have still not been completely overcome. This is why in his appeal to the nation's workers on 11 November 1978 Mengistu Haile Mariam stated that "Marxist-Leninist organizations must rapidly drive from their ranks the pseudorevolutionaries and revisionists, and intensify the process of uniting those organizations."

By and large, with the support of broad segments of the population, the military council had basically suppressed the work of the most active counter-revolutionary organizations in the nation, both right-wing and leftist. Organizations of the "Ethiopian Democratic Alliance," still active in the early 1970s and headed by relatives of the deposed emperor and by other representatives of the powerful feudal aristocracy based in London, were destroyed. The so-called "Ethiopian Popular Revolutionary Party," which was actively engaged in a terrorist campaign against the new government behind a variety of revolutionary slogans, was also destroyed. The activities of various opportunistic reactionary groupings and their military organizations have also been neutralized to a considerable extent. This was not just a military defeat but most importantly an ideological-political defeat for the counter-revolution, which was not able to attract any segments of the nation's workers of any significance. Naturally, as the Ethiopian leaders themselves point out, there are still counterrevolutionary elements and the class struggle continues in the nation, a struggle which in the current situation is increasingly moving into the area of social and economic relations. The Provisional Military Administrative Council therefore appeals to the nation's popular masses today to be vigilant and to steadfastly guard the interests of the revolution.

Self-government agencies--peasant associations and associations of urban residents--which came into being during the revolution, are assigned an important role in the building of a new life for Ethiopia. These unique

local militias of revolutionary power, vested with administrative and managerial authority, played a large role in the campaign against the counter-revolution, using the self-defense and people's militia detachments formed under them. They participate directly in the conduct of agrarian reform, in the organization of a food and essential goods supply system for the populations of their areas and in the construction of new schools, hospitals and roads.

The leadership of the new Ethiopia are also faced with large tasks with respect to resolving the ethnic question, a complex and urgent issue for the nation. During the very first years of the revolution the Provisional Military Administrative Council proclaimed total equality for all the peoples of Ethiopia and all of the nation's religions. For the first time in the history of ancient Ethiopia the Muslims were given the same rights as the Christians and Muslim holidays began to be celebrated along with Christian holidays. In its Program of National-Democratic Revolution the Provisional Military Administrative Council proclaimed the right of each of Ethiopia's ethnic groups to self-determination based on internal national autonomy. In many of the nation's regions, however, resolution of the ethnic question is encountering difficulties because of resistance on the part of local reactionary groups and outside interference.

Among other regions, a tense situation still exists in Eritrea, where the leaders of separatist organizations stubbornly refuse to negotiate with the central government on the resolution of the Eritrean problem within the framework of a united revolutionary Ethiopia, and continue their military operations. Most of Eritrea, including all of its main centers, have now been liberated from the separatists. The population of this region, which differs from the others in its ethnic and religious makeup and which has experienced all of the burdens of many years of warfare, is now beginning to return to peaceful labor. Industrial enterprises, roads, electric power plants, schools and hospitals destroyed by the separatists are being restored. The first peasant associations are being formed in Eritrea. Seminars on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in which hundreds of activists, representatives of the blue-collar workers, peasants, white-collar workers and of the progressive public are regularly conducted in Asmara, the capital of the region. An earnest struggle to extend the progressive reforms in Eritrea still lies ahead, however. Ethiopia's leaders are attempting to achieve political settlement of the Eritrean problem and to give full equality to all of Ethiopia's ethnic groups.

At the current stage of the Ethiopian revolution, when it has basically broken the armed resistance of internal reaction and has defended the nation against outside aggression, its priority tasks are those of peaceful construction, restoration of the devastated economy, its development along a path oriented toward socialism, and improvement of the people's standard of living. These tasks are especially difficult ones in view of the fact that they involve not only making up the great loss suffered by the national economy as a result of the military actions and sabotage of internal reaction, but also overcoming centuries of economic backwardness and rebuilding the entire national economy with a new structure.

Prior to the revolution Ethiopia was a graphic example of a backward agrarian nation which, according to official UN statistics, was one of the least developed and poorest nations in the world. The annual per capita income was only \$40.00. A total of 85 percent of the nation's population was made up of landless renters, 90 percent were illiterate and 85 percent had no access to medical care.

After the monarchy was toppled the Provisional Military Administrative Council began carrying out far-reaching social and economic reforms. A radical agrarian reform was carried out in 1975, under which the peasants were allotted parcels of land (up to 10 hectares) taken from feudal lords, the imperial family and the church through nationalization. The peasants were released from the payment of debts owed the landowners, and minimal agricultural taxes were established. The Provisional Military Administrative Council simultaneously nationalized all large and medium-sized industrial enterprises, including those with foreign capital invested in them, as well as banks and insurance companies. A new labor law was adopted, which for the first time guaranteed normal working conditions for the workers. The law provides for vacations and pensions and for the workers to participate in the administration of nationalized enterprises. The restructuring of the trade unions on a revolutionary basis and the creation of the Ethiopian National Trade Union helped to increase the role played by the working class in the life of the nation. The number of workers belonging to trade unions increased from 55,000 to 300,000 between 1974 and 1978, and the total number of industrial workers in the nation increased by 30 percent during the years of the revolution. The number of permanent agricultural workers increased markedly.

All of these moves helped to raise the employment level and to reduce the number of chronically unemployed in the cities from 250,000 to a figure of 144,000 in 1978. An important measure carried out by the Provisional Military Administrative Council in the social and economic area consisted of nationalizing rental housing, expanding housing construction and reducing the cost of an apartment by 30 percent for the 70 percent of the population with the lowest incomes. The number of pupils in primary schools has increased from 850,000 to 1.45 million since the revolution began, and the state health system has been expanded.

These figures attest to the indisputable achievements of the revolution and to the real improvements made in the circumstances of Ethiopia's working masses. Obviously, however, these achievements are only the beginning of the process of restructuring the nation's economic structure. This is why the Provisional Military Administrative Council made public the Program of National Revolutionary Development in October 1978 and formed the Central Supreme Planning Council, which was created to head the campaign and to monitor the development of various sectors of the national economy on a daily basis. The chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council was appointed head of the new agency.

This campaign has a dual task: A long-range project aimed at building up the material foundation for building a socialist society in Ethiopia in the future, and an immediate task of providing the population with food, rebuilding damaged enterprises and bringing the nation out of its economic slump of recent years, and of expanding and diversifying the nation's foreign trade. One feature of the campaign is the fact that it is to embrace the entire nation, with the revolutionary fervor of the working masses themselves having a large role in state policy, along with social and economic measures.

At the current stage the National Revolutionary Campaign Program focuses on the development of agriculture, on which Ethiopia's economy is based. There has been a drop in agricultural output in recent years, primarily grain production--from 5.5 million tons in 1976 to 4.7 million tons in 1978. With a considerable annual growth of population in the nation (2.5 percent for the nation as a whole and 6.6 percent in the cities) the drop in grain production has resulted in a shortage of basic foodstuffs. In 1978 alone Ethiopia was forced to import as much as 80,000 tons of grain. This situation resulted from a large number of factors. There has been a decrease in the amount of area planted to crops on the peasant farms. In recent years a number of the nation's agricultural regions have suffered a severe drought. Harmful factors also include the prolonged warfare and overt sabotage and diversionary actions on the part of the overthrown classes (the destruction of grain supplies and livestock, and so forth). The situation has also been affected by a severe shortage of fertilizer and agricultural equipment.

The Ethiopian government has already begun implementing a number of measures to resolve the food problem. The campaign against speculation in foodstuffs has been stepped up, stable prices have been set for grain, state and cooperative stores are being set up to sell essential goods, and the population of drought-stricken areas have been provided with assistance. A program is being implemented to resettle a considerable number of peasant families from the drought-stricken areas on fertile land.

The main difficulty involved in rapidly improving the nation's agriculture lies in the fact that 98 percent of the grain comes from small peasant farms, a considerable portion of which are tilled on a subsistence or semisubsistence level. It is essentially a matter of overcoming the conservative thinking of the peasantry and simultaneously expanding the production of commercial grain on the peasant farms, in which case, a rebirth of capitalist attitudes and the appearance of kulaks cannot be ruled out. The Ethiopian leaders are aware of this danger. In his speech delivered on the fourth anniversary of the revolution Mengistu Haile Mariam stated that the peasants must produce more than enough to meet their own needs and stressed the need to overcome the individualism and petty bourgeois attitudes of the peasantry by encouraging the creation of collective farms. The government is taking steps to encourage the combining of peasant holdings into collective farms through existing peasant associations. A law has been passed which reduces farm taxes for



the members of cooperatives. The creation of cooperatives is now in the initial stage. In addition to all the other factors, it has also been hampered by differences in the traditional land-use system existing in the different regions of the nation.

Increasing industrial production has an important place in the Program of the National Development Campaign. Recent years have also seen a drop in industrial production and the formation of a gap between output and what is needed to develop the national economy. A significant contributing factor has been the fact that most industrial enterprises in Eritrea have been idle because of the warfare there, and they produced around 30 percent of the nation's entire industrial output, primarily that of the processing (food, textile) industries. The situation has been affected by large difficulties encountered in providing industrial enterprises with raw materials and spare parts, which had to be imported from abroad, a severe shortage of skilled personnel due to the mass exodus of foreign specialists from the nation during the revolution, a breakdown of transport communications and operations, and so forth.

The Program calls for the restoration, first of all, of inactive enterprises, better use of existing industrial capacities and the replacement of obsolete equipment. Special importance is attached to the improvement of discipline and labor productivity, primarily at enterprises in the state sector, which now produce 90 percent of the nation's industrial output. Among other things it is planned to increase production volume for the processing industry by 45 percent within a year or two. The Program also specifies the need to increase production in the private sector, which is made up of small enterprises and mainly concentrates on meeting local demand for essential goods. This also reflects the political line of the leadership, which is to involve the nation's petty and middle bourgeoisie in the production processes under state control.

The Program of National Development Campaign gives a great deal of attention to the expansion of Ethiopia's foreign trade, primarily the diversification of exports. Coffee, which is the main export commodity, as well as beans, hides and skins, presently account for 80 percent of the income from foreign trade. In recent years there has been a certain increase in foreign trade income due mainly to the high price of coffee, which is unstable, of course, and influenced by the world's capitalist market. Exports of other basic commodities have dropped somewhat. The Program stresses the need not just to increase the production and expand the list of exports, but to carry out considerably more of the foreign trade operations through state organizations. The government presently controls one-third of the export and two-thirds of the import operations. Among other things, the Program calls for 62 percent of the trade operations involved in the export of 100,000 tons of coffee planned for this year to be carried out through the State Coffee Committee.

In addition to the above measures the Program also calls for a reduction in the number of unemployed and for development of the infrastructure, public



health and education. It is planned to put 4 million school-age children into schools in the near future, for example, and to carry out a program to eliminate illiteracy. There are provisions for expanding housing construction, especially in the rural areas.

The accomplishment of a social and economic undertaking on such a large scale and involving such large tasks as those of the development campaign is only possible on a national basis. A general economic development plan is presently being worked out in Ethiopia and will soon be submitted for national consideration. The national development campaign is to be financed mainly with Ethiopian funds. It is also planned to obtain a certain amount of assistance from abroad, primarily from the socialist nations.

The Provisional Military Administrative Council is devoting a great deal of attention to explaining the goals of the campaign to the nation's population and involving the workers in it. A special seminar on this issue was held in Addis Ababa at the end of January 1979. Mengistu Haile Mariam, who addressed the seminar, stressed the fact that the unity and solidarity of the broad popular masses, their organization, selfless labor and devotion to the ideals of the national-democratic revolution are a guarantee of Ethiopia's continued advance toward the building of a socialist society and the achievement of justice, equality, peace and prosperity. This campaign, he noted, is also an integral part of the class struggle under way in the nation.

The successful accomplishment of the difficult social and economic tasks facing Ethiopia requires favorable outside conditions. Consolidation of the accomplishments of the revolution and the growth of the new Ethiopia's prestige have clearly not pleased the imperialist and reactionary forces. They have not given up their attempts to undermine the Ethiopian revolution, presently taking advantage primarily of the nation's economic difficulties for this purpose. Forces of reaction are apparently counting on the fact that these difficulties will entail political disagreement within the Ethiopian leadership, revive the activities of counterrevolutionary elements and force the authorities to be "realistic" and abandon their announced line in foreign and domestic affairs.

The imperialist and reactionary forces are assigning a considerable role in this plan. The "New Imperialist" and aggressive regime in Ethiopia to the conservation of imperialist and the Horn of Africa, which have resulted from imperialist territorial claims and the plans of reactionary Arab forces to build together a "security pact" among nations on the Red Sea and their intervention in the settlement of the Eritrean problem. The present unsettled situation in the Horn of Africa is obviously not in the interest of any of the nations in that area and demands rapid settlement. A realistic way to settling this issue with the rejection of territorial claims, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of the nations involved, nonviolation of borders and noninterference in the nation's internal affairs. This is the approach taken by the vast majority of independent African nations which are developing mutual relations on principles set forth in the charters and rulings of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

The new Ethiopia is attempting to arrange its relations with neighboring nations in accordance with these principles. Its leaders have repeatedly announced that Ethiopia makes no claims on its neighbors whatsoever but that it will not give up an inch of its territory, that it is prepared to live in peace with them, if they for their part demonstrate good will in their actions. Furthermore, Ethiopia has expressed its willingness to cooperate with neighboring nations in joint development projects, and specifically, in the exploitation of common water resources.

It is especially important for Ethiopia to have good relations with the young republic of Djibouti, since 60 percent of Ethiopia's foreign trade has traditionally passed through the port of Djibouti, linked by rail with Addis Ababa. Mutual understanding and cooperation between Ethiopia and the neighboring nation of Kenya continue to grow stronger, a fact demonstrated by the pact of friendship and cooperation between the two nations signed by Kenya's new president Daniel T. arap Moi during a visit to Addis Ababa in January of this year. The fact that these two nations are following different social and economic paths of development does not prevent them from proceeding on common grounds with respect to matters affecting the preservation of peace, good neighborliness and cooperation on the Horn of Africa.

Ethiopia's cooperation with a progressive "Red Sea" nation, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen is also expanding and growing stronger. The adherence of both nations to the cause of peace and international detente and their condemnation of the plans of the imperialist and reactionary forces in the area of the Red Sea were reaffirmed during a visit to Ethiopia in January of this year by Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani, former chairman of the Presidential Council and present prime minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. The nations announced in a joint communique that the Red Sea as an international maritime route is a peaceful zone and that all Red Sea straits must be open to international shipping.

The new Ethiopia's foreign political activities are not limited to its own immediate area. The assumption of the nation's leadership by progressive forces has led to general advances in its foreign policy line as a whole and given it a clearly defined anti-imperialist orientation. In 1977 the Provisional Military Administrative Council abrogated all of Ethiopia's military-political agreements with the United States and removed American military installations from the nation. Ethiopia's trade and economic ties with the United States and other capitalist nations of the West, with Japan and with international economic organizations were retained, however. Describing socialist Ethiopia's foreign policy in his address to the nation on 12 September 1978, Mengistu Haile Mariam stated the following: "According to the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence revolutionary Ethiopia will maintain relations with all nations of the world with different systems and will strengthen its solidarity with the socialist, progressive and democratic forces."

Ethiopia has established broad cooperation with nations of the socialist commonwealth in the political, economic, cultural and other areas. It is an active participant in the nonalignment movement and in favor of strengthening the movement's anti-imperialist, anticolonial orientation. It speaks out in the same spirit in the Organization of African Unity, the general headquarters of which is located in Addis Ababa, and firmly supports the just struggle being waged by the peoples of South Africa for their liberation.

The new Ethiopia takes a positive role in the resolution of urgent international problems, problems such as the strengthening of peace and international security, the strengthening of detente, disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons. Ethiopia has supported initiatives by the Soviet Union on these issues in the United Nations.

Ethiopia has taken a clearly defined position with respect to appraising the political and ideological line of the current Chinese leaders, which presents a danger to peace and socialism and to the revolutionary and national liberation movements. It has strongly condemned China's aggression against socialist Vietnam and was one of the first to recognize the People's Republic of Cambodia.

Traditionally friendly Soviet-Ethiopian relations rose to a new level following the successful national democratic revolution in Ethiopia. Their relations are now defined by their ideological similarity and their mutual desire to help strengthen the anti-imperialist struggle of nations and to contribute to their social progress and to the cause of peace and international security. The Declaration of Principles of Friendly Mutual Relations and Cooperation was signed by the Soviet Union and Ethiopia in 1977. The two nations established regular political contacts and an exchange of opinions at various levels, during the course of which the agreement or near-agreement of the Soviet Union and Ethiopia on major international problems was established, including the issues of strengthening peace and detente, disarmament, the situation in Africa, the settlement of issues in the Near East, and others.

In 1977 and 78 a large number of new agreements were concluded on the development of bilateral cooperation in various areas. Under an agreement on economic and technical cooperation the Soviet Union will help Ethiopia construct a number of important national economic projects for industry and agriculture, in its exploration for minerals and in matters of economic planning. Agreements have been concluded on direct air communication and commercial shipping. Cooperation is being expanded in the areas of education and public health. Dozens of Soviet doctors, teachers, geologists and other specialists are working in various cities and regions of Ethiopia today. More than 1,000 Ethiopian students are studying at VUZ's in the Soviet Union.

Visits to the Soviet Union by Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council Mengistu Haile Mariam in 1977 and 1978 and his meetings and talks with L. I. Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders were highly important with respect to strengthening and developing cooperation between the USSR and Ethiopia.

The conclusion on 20 November 1978 of the Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation Between the Soviet Union and Socialist Ethiopia was a natural outcome of the development and strengthening of bilateral Soviet-Ethiopian relations and an expression of friendship and solidarity between the two nations. The agreement legally establishes the principles on which our relations with Ethiopia are based. They include equality, noninterference in internal affairs, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and the inviolability of national borders. The agreement calls for the further expansion and strengthening of economic cooperation and trade based on equality, mutual benefit and most favored nation treatment and for the development of Soviet-Ethiopian ties in the areas of science, culture, education and public health. The agreement also calls for military cooperation in the interest of maintaining the defense capability of the two nations.

The Soviet-Ethiopian Agreement is also of great international importance. It is imbued with the desire of the two nations to promote the strengthening of peace and international security, to expand detente and extend it to all areas of the world, to achieve mutually beneficial cooperation among nations and the peaceful settlement of international disputes. The two nations committed themselves to promote universal and total disarmament, including the elimination of nuclear weapons, and to take action toward the final elimination of colonialism and neocolonialism, racism and apartheid. The principles contained in the Agreement serve the purpose of strengthening political cooperation between the USSR and Ethiopia and of coordinating their activities in the international area. They call for the parties to consult each other on urgent international problems directly affecting the interests of the two nations, including the development of situations which create a threat to peace or are damaging to international peace.

The Soviet-Ethiopian Agreement was received with gratification by the people of the Soviet Union and Ethiopia and nations of the socialist commonwealth, and by progressive forces in Africa and throughout the world.

Five years of revolution have passed, 5 years of bitter struggle, of victories and achievements for the Ethiopian people. Many difficulties still lie ahead, but today the new Ethiopia looks ahead with confidence.

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## NATIONAL

### FAMILY STABILITY SUBJECT OF SOCIAL SCIENTISTS' RESEARCH

#### Should Couples Live With Parents?

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Mar 79 p 12

[Article by I. Rodzinskaya, associate at USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research: "Not Together, But Alongside Each Other"]

[Text] What's better for the young family, to live with parents or apart from them? Nearly everyone answers without hesitation: "Apart, of course." And that is not surprising, since the conviction is widely held that it is not he or she who is to blame for many divorces, but his parents or hers. But is that true?

No, not at all. Divorce statistics show that families break up least often due to poor relations with the parents of one spouse. This is indicated by data we obtained in research on the problem of family stability which was conducted in Moscow in 1975-1977.

We arbitrarily divided families into two types: "stable" and "unstable." "Stable" included those in which the husband and wife acted in agreement when solving problems important to the family, rarely quarrelled, understood each other, and were satisfied with the marriage. Correspondingly, families in which conflicts were frequent, in which each constantly blamed the other and were almost always quarrelling and hurting the other were called unstable. All the information was obtained during extensive interviews with husbands and wives (separately).

In particular, the researchers were interested in the relationships between one spouse and the parents of the other and in how those relations influence life in the young family. Young spouses who were living with parents and apart from them were surveyed.

The main questions were, first, how extensive are conflicts between newly-weds and the older generation; second, does living with parents promote such conflicts; third, do conflicts between young spouses arising due to poor relations with parents influence the stability of the marriage.



Tension in relations and friction between couples and parents, or more accurately between one spouse and the parents of the other, were noted in 28 percent of the families, that is, in nearly one of every three couples. But frequent conflicts due to that occurred much less often, in 18 percent of the families. Only 11 percent of those surveyed, that is, one in every nine couples, thought all their family difficulties were due to parental interference.

According to our research data, families living with the wife's parents were better off. In them, conflicts between generations occurred less often and the number of wives and husbands satisfied with the marriage was twice as high. These data also testify indirectly to the fact that a son's wife and her mother-in-law quarrel more often than a daughter's husband and his mother-in-law (so much for the husband's notorious mother-in-law!).

The root of the problem quite often is the parents' negative attitude towards their son's (daughter's) choice. Thirty-eight percent of those surveyed were dissatisfied with their "child's" choice. Incidentally, they do not try to hide this negative attitude at all, hence hostility on both sides. It can be assumed that friction also arises due to the inability or unwillingness of one generation to understand the other, to adapt and respect the interests and tastes of the other.

It is instructive that quarrels between husbands and wives because of parents occur equally often whether or not the children live with their parents: if with them, one in every five families; if apart, 18 percent. This indicates that just the fact that young people live with their parents is not all that often a cause of conflict.

Moreover, it turns out that the number of stable families is higher among those living with parents than among those living apart: 63 percent for the former and 52 percent for the latter. This was a distinct trend in all the research we did.

There are probably some special factors in large families consisting of two generations which, in spite of everything, including mutual grievances, help strengthen the marriage of young spouses. But there are clearly not enough such factors in families living apart from parents. Just what are these factors? First, third-party supervision. It would seem better not to have it; young people are trying to be independent. But without supervision, you might indulge yourself too much. Far from all husbands and wives can pass the test of full freedom right from the start. Second, spouses in the very young family are too "closed" to each other. It is hard for them to help with the household chores and in raising the children. For the time being, very young spouses thirsty for freedom from parental guardianship and interference do not feel this at all, but when they suddenly remember, the destructive forces have already done their dirty work and the family cannot be restored.



Living apart is also bad because children and parents generally live far from each other and are very estranged. To judge from one of our studies done in Moscow's new Southwest microrayon, it takes 23 percent of the families up to half an hour to get to their parents, 35 percent from half an hour to an hour, and 42 percent more than an hour. This affects both help and personal contact. Some 64 percent of the grandmothers living within half an hour of their grandchildren take an active part in their up-bringing; 2.5-fold fewer grandmothers help raise their grandchildren if they live more than an hour away. On the other hand, if they become ill, parents are deprived of needed help from their children and suffer from a lack of personal contact. It is for good reason that 22 percent of those surveyed wanted to live in the same apartment with their parents (given sufficient space), and 68 percent wanted to live in the same building or in neighboring buildings. It is interesting that similar results were also obtained from a study done by Leningrad architects.

In brief, by concluding that close contact between generations is advantageous, we in no way mean returning to the old model of living together which resulted, at that time, not so much from mutual desire as from housing difficulties. There are other variants which give optimum consideration to the interests of both young people and the elderly. For example, adjacent but separate apartments, as proposed by Leningrad architects. They exit into different corridors but are connected by a door. Or simply two apartments in one house (one for parents and one for the young family)....

On the whole, our answer to the question at the start of the article is that it is best to live not with one's parents, but alongside them.

#### Lasting Love In Marriage

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Mar 79 p 12

[Article by Inna Khan: "Your Half"]

[Text] There is currently much debate about family interrelationships, family squabbling, and specifically, why so many divorces.

I should like to deal with one aspect of this problem.

...M. Chudakova's book "Besedy ob arkhivakh" [Archives Conversations] contains an excerpt from some memoirs narrated in the late 19th century: "... In a discussion with Ivan Semenovich, mama put Bubnov forward as a model of the irreproachable person....

'No, Ol'ga Vladimirovna, you know, I don't agree,' he said. 'I daresay he's a very good person, but you know, he's still a bigamist....'

'Ivan Semenovich, what do you mean, "bigamist"? His wife died....'

'So what if she died? He still took a second....'

The discussion took place with Admiral I. S. Unkovskiy, captain of the frigate Pallada, on which I. Goncharov, at that time governor of Yaroslavl' and father of a large family, was sailing around the world.

No matter what different feelings this excerpt calls forth, it does call attention to itself and makes the reader think. In fact, that is the opinion of one of the exceptional men of his not too distant time, a highly educated person respected by all who knew him.

...That is how this thought I read somewhere 10 years ago or so struck me, a thought to which I was unable to formulate my own opinion at that age as to why it had even been written down: you should love a friend to welcome the best and not look back. They are about the same things, I think.

Let's reconstruct talks each of us have in our memories. Two young people get married and, not the first month, but quite soon: "When did he decide he could give me orders? And what if I don't want to..." or "Why do I have to, but she doesn't?" This is all close, familiar -- aloud, at the top of one's voice, confident in one's right to these opinions, laments and cries.

Why don't we hold such things against our own kin, parents and children? You recognize how shocked you would be to discuss things with phrases like "Why should I?" and so on being used by a person you respect and concerning his mother or father, whom you also know and respect. And to hear this from a young wife is commonplace, listened to most often with sympathy.

But that means you do not recognize your own spouse as kin, like your parents and your own child ("a little snot, but mine"). And there will always be someone brighter, more talented and more beautiful than your parents, than your babies. But you wouldn't trade them, and not because it isn't done and can't be done, but because it isn't necessary; "I don't want another boy," cries Dostoyevskiy's hero. This is your own, forever, and that's happiness, no matter how much bitterness is mixed in.

You don't choose children or parents, but neither do you refuse them -- with rare exceptions. But you are in a more advantageous situation with regard to your spouse -- you choose! It is your right to choose! But just once. Then she's yours, like your children, like your parents. Don't forget that in choosing a spouse you in fact also choose your child, to an extent. And it's for good reason that the now often ridiculed and vulgarized "your half" has lasted through the centuries.

Where does it come from, this straightaway "my very own"?

A young woman with a higher education, mother of two, in a sanatorium: "I haven't been gone a week. The first time the doctors talked me into coming in for treatment. When it hurts, I cry out, and he knows. But I've already gotten a telegram: 'Come home, I can't cope!' I'm not going home for anything. To the contrary, I'm having a good time, just to spite that scoundrel."

No comment necessary. Her pain is not his pain, and vice versa.

But they don't intend to get divorced.

A young man philosophizes: "They say you have to find your one and only. But there is at least one of those in each city in which I might spend my youth. And there are so many cities."

Well, doesn't that mean there isn't any "one and only"?

Out of these many ("so many cities") "one and onlies" you've met one. And you've "accepted" her as your one and only; then she becomes that. Later, when you meet the best of those "one and onlies," "don't look back," because for you, it's an alien, groundless thing. That's how it must be. But this sense of "readiness to accept" does not generate itself; it comes only because two people have registered their marriage. It must be developed from early childhood, from fairy tales...

Still, why is there so often disappointment in the very first months of a matrimony based on love?

It often occurs because a young person (of either sex) seems to be comparing each candidate with an idealized model fashioned in his imagination, and often down to the most petty details.

Then some time passes as married people and it is revealed that the spouse does not coincide with the fancied ideal in every detail (and sometimes not even in general outlines).

As is known, there are no ideals "in the flesh," which means the spouse never coincides with the ideal. What to do? "Make no idols"? Not just that.

It is also important here who is along with you in such a situation, an alien or one of your own. We also almost always see -- want to see -- your future child as more beautiful and more talented, but the fact that it does not conform to that ideal is never dispiriting to the point of alienating us.

Things were simpler before: "marriages are made in heaven"; husband and wife are one flesh. Here is another excerpt from the memoirs referred to before, about what was referred to as "bigamy."

'Mama told us that Mariya Yevgrafovna was very jealous of Bubnov's memory of his deceased wife. Especially bitter to her was the fact that her husband had bought for himself a burial plot alongside auntie Eva.

'Here on earth, as long as I live I'm yours,' Nikolay Dement'yevich said to her, 'but there, I want to be next to her.'

Mariya Yevgrafovna held on for a long time and gave up after buying a gravesite for herself at his feet. . . .

What happens now, though, when marriages are made on earth?

A different fate, as told by a very attractive young woman: "I jumped into marriage at 17. Dumb. I had quarreled with my fiance before he left for the army and did it to spite him.... My husband is 10 years older than I. At first, you know, it was like in the movies: my Yura would appear, I would run to him from the registry office and follow him anywhere without a backward glance.... My husband and I lived together all of three months, when tragedy befell me -- they found a tumor on my stomach. I endured several operations and disappeared into the hospitals for eight difficult months.... My husband could guess, of course, that I couldn't forget Yura. He understood everything. And then he had to deal with not knowing if I would be left a cripple or when I would get over my illness."

And here's how this independent, mature man behaved in his student days -- a fan favorite, a forward on the hockey team representing the institute. When Lena went into the hospital (the doctors explained it would be for a long time), he went to her parents right away. And each day, minute to minute, he was either at home or at the hospital. And each day, together with a parcel, he sent a note (no visitors in the surgery ward). Lena wrote him: "I trust you, live at home and just consider yourself free...."

He joked about that note and replied that he attributed it to her feeling bad and that he had moved to her parents', since that was more convenient for him, he said.

And so, for the whole year and a half she was incapacitated there was no shadow of sacrifice or selflessness. He simply took everything on himself -- all the household cares (he brought her home to the apartment from the hospital) and seeing to it that the doctors' orders were carried out and that she was in good spirits. And he did all this with a quiet confidence that what he was doing was natural, that anyone, including Lena, would have done it in his place.

After another half a year, when Lena was on her feet again for good, Yura returned from the army and went straight to her. It turned out he had written her all the while, but her parents had not forwarded the letters. He implores her to go away with him. I was a fool, he says....

Lena again: "I look at him, and he seems to have come from far, far away, from my childhood. And this plea doesn't upset me in the slightest; I'm not even sad.... Barter my own husband? For what...?"

Incidentally, this fate is "par depot" ("out of vexation," "to spite my fiance") and rather a common "tragedy" caused basically by the way the bride was brought up. And Lena's husband, who understood all that and loved her greatly, not only laid the foundation for their future interrelationships by his behavior during a difficult period for her and by his attitude towards her illness in brightening her life, but also helped shape her as an individual.

No, I'm not saying that divorces are unnatural, that if you marry for love that means forever, absolutely and under any circumstances. As we know, "rules can be written because there are exceptions." But exceptions, not the other way around! Not so that divorce or formal wedlock become the rule for so very many at a certain age. But that is essentially what has happened, and we all know it... And we are reconciled to it.

I should like to give an example I consider to be an exception. One old woman told me: "They used to say 'you'll like it when you get used to it'. But it was the opposite for me: the longer it went on, the worse it got. I've already celebrated my silver wedding anniversary and brought up two grandchildren... Whereas my husband used to irritate me just being around the house, then I got so sick of him the sight of him in the kitchen made me want to jump out the window. I divorced him. No one understood, neither his family nor mine. What would happen to me when I got old? But you can believe I would stop during the day or wake up in the middle of the night and think 'God, what happiness! Alone...'"

So if you're ready to "accept once and for all," you'd better give it long and serious thought. And in this, not the least role should be played by the parents, who must be concerned that their children "have a better chance" and with trying to understand, since they know him better than anyone (often better than he himself), if their offspring could be happy with that person. Do they have things in common concerning their understanding of and attitude towards life, in their characters, which, together with their love for and mutual acceptance of each other, could stick together a single whole, a family? It really isn't the most important thing in life to "decide everything yourself, so that there's no one else to blame." It is important in life to keep in mind all the life ahead of you and the lives of your children.

Then, after 10 years of wedlock, love abates. It does happen that the trembling intensity of the initial feelings does not lessen with the years, but we exclude the exception. We take the rule, that they do lessen. What then? Then we must catch our "second wind" of conjugal life. A more serene, balanced love for that person close to you, for the family you created together. Like love for one of your own kin.

And that is love, not just tolerance, the tolerance nurtured by hundreds of slights and blunders by your spouse over many long years of married life and kept score of, the tolerance usually dictated and justified in the eyes of the person himself, and even the object of a certain amount of pride that they had children. But children are acutely aware of relations between parents and perceive all the nuances of dislike, while not yet understanding them. Their childhood differs depending on what those relations are. It is an enormous difference, as the sun differs from a fluorescent lamp.

If you look closely, even a superficial acquaintance with someone is always enough to determine what kind of childhood he had. You can not only see if it was easy or hard, well-to-do or not, but also what the atmosphere was and



just what his childhood lacked, because that flaw, like spices necessary to the child but washed away, leaves traces throughout his life. For the child, a good family is the same as the air and sun; it is the launching pad for his take-off in life. And for that reason we try from the very start, from our children's childhood, to do everything we can to rid them of life's catastrophes.

#### Experimental Dating Service

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Mar 79 p 12

[Interview with A. Yegides, psychotherapist: "Marriage Without Rejects"]

[Text] The editors were literally flooded with letters after publication of E. Fedoseyeva's article on a small, experimental dating service created in Moscow (LG No 43 1978). Nearly one in every three letters from readers ended with a request that we please send the questionnaire developed and now being used by the service's organizers. Some explained that they want to create similar clubs in their own cities, others that they would use the questionnaire to reconcile newlyweds who had decided to get a divorce, and others that they wanted to use the questionnaire to check if their children should marry someone, and so forth. The editors were unable to meet a single one of those requests: the questionnaire is big (50 typewritten pages), is still being worked on and, to judge from the questions in the letters, is not needed by all those wanting it, by any means. At the same time, the letters indicate that the questionnaire merits closer scrutiny that was given it in preparing the article "SM-120 wants a date with SZh-40...." In view of this, LG correspondent L. Velikanova asked psychotherapist and candidate of psychological sciences A. Yegides, organizer of the experimental service and developer of the questionnaire, to respond to a number of questions raised by LG readers.

[Question] In order to describe the questionnaire as a whole, in my view, it would be worthwhile to answer two questions repeatedly asked in the letters right away: can it be used to reconcile those who have decided to get a divorce, and could it tell a fiance or fiancée if they are making the right choice.

[Answer] Before answering these questions, let's "begin at the beginning," as they say, and explain what our questionnaire is, why it exists, and what our purpose is in having it filled out.

Most importantly, the questionnaire is used to reveal areas of conflict so that people who probably could not live together will not become husband and wife. And how is this done?

Let's say a woman plans to marry a man who has a child. True, the son lives with the first wife, but the father wants to see him often, take him places and spend time together with him. The wife-to-be seems agreeable to all this, but then after the wedding they begin to quarrel, build up grievances and brawl. It turns out the woman is in principle not in a position to take another's child to her heart but, because she wants to marry that particular man, she deceives both herself and him, hoping to resign herself, to change.

In filling out the questionnaire before they meet, neither the woman nor the man know who will read their answers -- single or divorced, someone who loves children or someone who does not. Then it is hard to guess what to write to please someone. So it's best to write the truth. Someone whom this truth suits has the better chance of becoming the right choice.

Naturally, a person often tries to put himself in a better light than is actually the case when answering the questions. Let's suppose a woman who doesn't like children much decides not to admit it, for fear that she will be thought badly of. Our questionnaire anticipates this possibility. The questionnaire contains "checkpoints" such as the following, for example: how do you feel towards your mama? If you read an answer that goes "My mama's character is unbearable, she torments and hinders me, and I don't want to live with her," you can tell indirectly from this how he (she) will feed about his (her) own child.

The questionnaire assumes that, in revealing conflict areas, he and she will either not be suitable at all or will make a contract or agreement about certain very important situations. For example, they will decide exactly how relations with his (her) child will be structured. But one way or the other, conflict situations will be discovered and analyzed prior to the marriage, that is, there will be less possibility that a marriage will be "rejected" later on.

[Question] You have thus far given only one specific example, about a child, that is, to use your own words, a most obvious "conflict area," even without a special questionnaire. I should like you to explain what other questions the questionnaire includes which would be considered especially important when seeking out a helpmate.

[Answer] It is entirely inappropriate to include in the questionnaire such petty questions as "Can you stand to fly?" or "How do you feel about ocean voyages?". That is of no importance whatsoever to family life. But such apparently trivial questions as whether you prefer to get up early or late are quite important. Essentially, the answer shows the biorhythm typical of your choice, whether he's an "owl" or a "lark."

Many questions deal with the person's character -- whether he's a domineering or submissive type, decisive or uncertain, irritable or serene, depressive or optimistic. Whiners are hard for everyone to take, but someone might also be irritated by an irrepressibly cheerful person. It is very important to know if your future spouse is robust or easily tired and unable to finish anything.

A second set of questions covers values, that is, those personality traits which are acquired from without, shaped by society. What books have you read? What writers do you like? Why? Even the books one has read describe his personality and show what he might rely on in setting up his family life. It is all the more important to know what pleases him about what he has read, what he prefers and why. What composers and artists do you like? Do you collect books or records? Which ones?

And I should like to stress once again that you needn't try to guess what answer will please someone the most; you must put down the truth, only the truth. Are you indifferent about books? Be honest. You'll turn up someone who also prefers to spend his money on things.

[Question] What has your practical work shown? Readers ask what most often causes conflicts.

[Answer] Much depends on the character, temperament and up-bringing of the person. One woman reasons calmly: "My husband loves Faulkner; I don't understand that author. So what? Let him read Faulkner..." Another starts squabbling: "It's impossible to understand Faulkner! You're giving in to fashion, putting on airs that you understand him..." So there is a senseless quarrel fraught with sometimes very unpleasant consequences. It might turn out that Faulkner hastens a divorce. It is easy to conclude that if a husband and wife have a single world-view and similar tastes, if they read books by one favorite author, then you can speak of a singleness of spirit, which naturally will help make the marriage stronger.

Quarrels often arise because a husband and wife have different attitudes towards money, things and personal affairs.

However, the apartment problem is still among the primary causes of conflict situations. Do you or your chosen have an apartment? Oh, you'll have to live with your parents? Then please state what kind of housing they have. A two-room apartment. Are the rooms connected? And so forth.

[Question] In view of the great reader interest in this, I should like you to quote several questions in full.

[Answer] Of course. Let's look at one: "Have you had a marriage registered or had marriages in unregistered wedlock? Why were you divorced? Were you to blame? Your spouse? For what exactly do you partly blame yourself? Say in detail. For what was your spouse partly to blame? Write out the form and substance of the basic conflicts. Who said or did what, specifically? Give the sequence. Describe the essence of your differences. What contradictions were constantly pushed into conflicts? How often? Tell all, no matter how trivial; hide nothing. After all, any potential spouse must evaluate your character, positions, views. Perhaps he possesses the same traits as your previous spouse, in which case it would not be worth it to join your fates. And perhaps you should re-examine something in your own character or views."

Pay attention. Our questionnaire is designed specifically for free discussion. Otherwise, we would have set it up differently: "Have you been married?" -- "Yes." -- "Why were you divorced?" -- "We didn't hit it off." Short and vague. Numerous other questions arise. This is why we ask people to please tell us in detail.

Or another question: Do you live alone or with your parents. Describe close relatives with whom you often spend time. Their habits and views. If a relative advises you, talk about him. Do you submit without reservation to the advice or simply listen to it? And the reverse, do you resist efforts on the part of relatives to suppress your will? Do they interfere tactlessly in your life? Tell us about that."

Our "prompting" anticipates defensive arguments. Yes, I love and respect my father and therefore heed his advice. Or: I quarrel with my mother because she suppresses my will and freedom; I should very much want to be independent. When I marry, I'm prepared for that reason to move to another city..

I should like to add that Academy of Pedagogical Sciences member A. V. Petrovskiy consults on certain social-psychological aspects of our work, and Doctor of Medical Sciences V. P. Kotov consults on the medical portion.

[Question] What recommendations have you for those who make their choice with your help? In other words, do you have some "recipes" for a happy marriage?

[Answer] Alas, I must disappoint you: we do not and cannot make commendations whatsoever to our wards, inasmuch as the criteria for an optimum marriage, or, as you put it, "recipes" for a happy family, are not available to us. In order to work out such criteria, research must be done on happy couples to find out which people are compatible and which are not, whether they are simply compatible in that they do not get divorced or are in harmony (happy), and so forth. Only after that will it be possible to make any kind of recommendations. Thus far, no such work has been done, so the members of our club make their choices independently. Our questionnaire helps them to the extent that it includes those questions which life itself sets before wives and husbands sooner or later.

[Question] You have essentially answered the readers' main questions and have explained that the questionnaire cannot be used to reconcile people, and that no one is relieving potential fiances and fiancées of the responsibility for their decision to create a family...

[Answer] I should only like to add that by using the questionnaire, we are improving it, inasmuch as we are getting an increasingly clear idea of what information people making these choices want and need. It is too early, in my view, to copy our experience. There is still too little of it. Inasmuch as our service is exclusively experimental in nature, that is, not obligatory, I should like to express my sincere gratitude to the chief physician

of the medical facility at which we developed this work. Both she and the head of the rayon health department helped us in every way possible. It is very important that a new service, which badly needs people but which has not yet taken on precise organizational forms, receive such support more often. Then we could exchange experience and choose what is best from what is available.

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## CONSTITUTIONAL FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE DISCUSSED

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 23 May 79 p 3

[Article by O. Alapayev, representative of the Council on Religious Affairs for the Kirgiz SSR of the USSR Council of Ministers: "The USSR Constitution and Freedom of Conscience"]

[Text] The new USSR Constitution is an outstanding political and ideological-theoretical document of our epoch. It has been justifiably described as a manifesto of socialist democracy and human rights and freedoms. One of the outstanding proofs of its humanism and concern for the spiritual development of the individual is the way it reflects problems related to the freedom of conscience.

We know that the Constitution of the USSR, as the Constitution of the Kirgiz SSR embody the ideas of Lenin's decree "On the Separation of the Church from the State and the School from the Church," one of the first legislative acts of the young Soviet republic, an act which marked the beginning of the granting of true freedom of conscience and human rights. This outstanding governmental legal act became the base of all subsequent legislation related to religious cults defining the position of the church in the socialist society.

Under socialism freedom of conscience is exercised immeasurably more completely, extensively, and profoundly than the freedom of conscience proclaimed in any of the bourgeois constitutions. Even though such constitutions raise the question of the freedom of conscience, in fact they reduce it merely to the freedom to choose a religious faith. In the USSR, on the basis of the total separation of the church from the state, the state does not interfere in the internal affairs of the church or the church in the affairs of the state. The justice and democracy of this principle are obvious.

Unlike the 1918, 1924, and 1936 constitutions, the new constitution provides the most complete and comprehensive interpretation of the Marxist-Leninist concept of the freedom of conscience, making it more specific and broad.

What are the guarantees for the freedom of conscience in our country? The main guarantee stipulated by the constitution is the separation of the church from the state and the school from the church. Accordingly, the USSR exercises the principle of non-interference of the state in the internal life (religious services, or canonical) of the religious organizations. This equally presumes the non-interference of the church in governmental affairs.

The other guarantees that the Soviet state grants believers are certain material conditions needed for the satisfaction of their religious requirements. Believers who are members of a religious society may be given, free of charge, premises where they can pray and religious objects owned by the state.

Finally, the third and important guarantee of the freedom of conscience is state control over the observance of Soviet legislation on religious cults on the part of the superior and local state organs--the soviets of people's deputies.

We must equally point out another difference found in the text of article 52 of the new USSR Constitution compared with the corresponding article 124 of the 1936 Constitution. It deals with freedom of atheistic propaganda which replaces the concept of anti-religious propaganda. This specification has a profound meaning. In addition to the criticism of religion, as was the case in the past, this text includes a positive aspect--the molding of a scientific materialistic outlook and the intellectual development of the individual. This specification reflects the changes in the political orientation of religious organizations. As we know, immediately following the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, during the civil war and, subsequently, many religious organizations and groups of clergymen were hostile toward the Soviet system. It was natural, therefore, that the Soviet people engaged in anti-religious propaganda and struggled against those reactionary members of the church who engaged in activities hostile to the Soviet people.

At the present stage, the struggle against religion has assumed the shape of a struggle waged by the scientific materialistic outlook against the anti-scientific religious outlook. This has been reflected in the new constitution. Guaranteeing the freedom of propaganda of scientific atheism, the constitution directs the ideological struggle against religion to be waged with a view to the further strengthening of the unity between believers and non-believers on the level of the dissemination of scientific atheism. Atheistic work is a structural component of the communist education of the working people, conducted through propaganda, education, persuasion, and patient interpretation. Marxism, V. I. Lenin taught, excludes insulting the feelings of believers. This inviolable principle is consistently implemented in the life of our society and imbues all Soviet legislation.

The legal, national, and social equality proclaimed by the October Revolution, and the just solution of the complex problem of national-religious relations is a great accomplishment of the Soviet people, showing the entire world that

not capitalists or feudal lords but the socialist state was the first in the world to formulate on a practical basis the solution of the problem of human rights, eliminating national-religious discord, and insuring the equality of all nations and citizens regardless of national or religious affiliation.

The USSR Constitution is directed against the use of religion for anti-social purposes. It guarantees the freedom of religious cults to exercise their beliefs. Naturally, however, this must not be accompanied by any anti-social action. Actions aimed against Soviet society, and the promotion of hostile feelings toward the socialist system and its order and laws are forbidden. This stipulation is entirely legitimate and consistent with existing legislation on religious cults which bans the use of assemblies of believers directed against the interests of the Soviet social and state system, or instigating believers to avoid the implementation of their civic duties or participating in state and social life. It is on this basis that our country bans religious ceremonies which may harm the health of the citizens or other encroachments on the persons or rights of the citizens.

The legal act which regulates the activities of religious associations in our republic is the Ukase of the Kirgiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium "On Ratifying the Stipulation 'On Religious Associations in the Kirgiz SSR.'" It fully guarantees the freedom of conscience and the rights of the believers. At the same time, however, it imposes upon religious associations certain obligations related to the strict observance of the laws. We must say that the religious organizations are meeting this obligation. Deviations from the laws are encountered only in individual sectarian associations. Their leaders exert a negative influence on the rank and file believers, arguing that since the church in the USSR is separated from the state, religious associations can and must live according to the laws of God and not of the world, and should not be registered with the authorities. The main position assumed by sectarian extremism, triggering all basic violations of the legislation on cults, is the rejection of the state and of its laws.

Under the influence of the extremists, the members of some sects accept on faith the fabrications of foreign anti-Soviet propaganda defaming the Soviet state and the socialist freedom of conscience, and creating myths of the infinite opportunities to practice one's own religion under the conditions of a Western "free society." The leaders of the so-called "Council of Churches of Evangelical Christian Baptists" take up such fabrications and, occasionally, themselves fabricate libels on violations of the rights of churches and believers in the USSR.

Not even a grain of truth exists in such claims. As we know, the state does not interfere in any way in the area of religious feelings, concepts, and beliefs which are the business of the people. However, protecting the rights of the Soviet citizens, the law on cults bans the coercive collection of money and tithes in favor of religious organizations and clergymen; the commission of fraudulent actions with a view to exciting religious superstitions among the population; the organization and holding of religious

meetings, processions, and other religious ceremonies disturbing the public order; the organization and systematic training of minors in religious matters in violation of legislative rules.

Unfortunately, some believers, particularly among the leaders of the supporters of the so-called "Council of Churches of Evangelical Christian Baptists," "Jehovah's Witnesses," Reform Adventists, or, as they describe themselves, the VTs VSASP (All-Union Church of Loyal and Free Seventh Day Adventists), Pentacostal Adventists, True Orthodox Christians, and some other sects, are using all possible pretexts to violate legislation on religious cults and mislead naive citizens.

For such purposes, using their accomplices, the sectarian leaders spread false rumors to excite religious fanaticism. They obviously and grossly distort the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state toward religion and the believers. For example, they are well aware of their rights yet, sometimes, refuse to acknowledge all civic obligations to the law, society, or the state.

Some believers who are parents such as, for example, Reformist Adventists, and Pentacostal Adventists do not let their children go to school Saturdays, believing that they are right, since they believe in God. To say the least, this view is wrong. To begin with, all laws of the Soviet state are mandatory for all believing and non-believing citizens of the USSR. This includes the law of universal mandatory education. Consequently, class attendance by all students attending general educational schools Saturdays, since classes are taught that day, are mandatory and this includes believers' children as well. Furthermore, article 63 of the Foundations of Legislation of the USSR and of Union Republics on Public Education states that, "Officials and citizens who allow violations of legislation governing general mandatory eight grade education, the separation of the school from the church, and other violations of the law in the field of education are held liable in accordance with the laws of the USSR and of union republics."

No rules of a creed could be used as justification and as forcing the children to practice a religion. However, some clergymen and members of sects, trying to mislead rank and file believers, disseminate fabrications to the effect that the USSR is violating the convention "On the Struggle Against Discrimination in Education," as adopted by the United Nations and ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Yet, let us look at the text of the convention. Its article 5 stipulates that "Parents and, in proper cases, legal guardians, must have the opportunity, first of all, within the framework of the legislation of the country, freely to send their children not to state but to other school institutions meeting minimal requirements as stipulated or approved by competent education authorities; secondly, to insure the religious and moral education of the children in accordance with their own convictions (the children's--the author). No one, individually, or no group of individuals as a whole has the right to impose a religious education incompatible with his convictions."

This stipulation shows that no infringement on the rights of believing citizens or conflict between the stipulations of Soviet legislation on religious cults and the content of the United Nations convention may be found in our country.

Insuring the freedom of conscience and respect for human dignity does not mean to justify and approve anything done by unconscientious people. Communist morality rejects abstract unprincipled "goodness." The party teaches that in relations among people goodness and trust must be combined with principled exactingness and justice, mutual respect, and intolerance of all vestiges of the past. One cannot be good toward those who violate Soviet laws or the rules governing socialist community life or are unwilling to be in step with the entire Soviet people. Yet, the overwhelming majority of Soviet citizens, believers and non-believers, are honest working people and patriots of their homeland, fully and entirely approving and supporting the domestic and foreign policy of the party and the government.

That which is provided by the Soviet Constitution, said V. I. Lenin, the great creator of our state, no single country has been able to provide in 200 years. The new constitution brilliantly implements the ideas of socialist democracy proclaimed and substantiated by Lenin. The freedom of conscience it proclaims is one of the outstanding proofs of the democracy and humanism of the socialist society.

500)

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NATIONAL

## RELIGIOUS LEADER ACCUSED OF ANTI-SOCIAL ACTIVITY

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 27 May 79 p 4

[Article by Vladimir Illarionov, Tashkent: "A Bigot in the Role of an Apostle: Story of a Former Sect Member"]

[Text] I read with profound emotion the article "What Was Taking Place in the Bunker of the 'Apostle,'" in the 13 May IZVESTIYA issue, exposing the hostile anti-social activities of the self-proclaimed chairman of the "All-Union Church of Loyal and Free Seventh Day Adventists," V. A. Shelkov, and of a number of his accomplices. Fully sharing and confirming everything described in the article, I would like, yet once again, to show the true face of the religious rascals.

The point is that, not so long ago, I, personally, was a member of this sect and have seen plenty. When the time comes I shall try to describe all this in greater detail. For the time being, within the limits of a newspaper article, I would like to present merely some of the facts and share certain considerations.

All citizens in our country are well familiar with the stipulations of the USSR Constitution on the freedom of religion. A number of different religious associations freely operate in the country. In Tashkent alone we find the Central Asian Spiritual Administration (with its mosques and schools), the Central Asian Parish Administration, and the Central Asian Council of Evangelic Christian Baptists. Also legally operating are Seventh Day Adventists (ASD).

Vladimir Shelkov joined this religious current in his youth. Early ambition, combined with raving initiative guided the steps of the young official already then. He could not tolerate subordination. He was unwilling to obey his religious superiors. So, Shelkov "turned himself loose." He charged the official ASD society and its leaders with "violations of God's law," expressed in the very fact that the big ASD community was considered legal by the state. Promoting among the community members "instability and dischord," he cleverly promoted a kind of reformation and, finding himself in an illegal position, he clandestinely recruited among the stooges within the new current so-called

reformists and, subsequently, as they began to describe themselves, "Loyal Seventh Day Adventists." From a rank and file church member, Shelkov promoted himself to the highest spiritual rank of apostle and preacher.

I now realize that deep within himself, Shelkov was the most enraged enemy of Christian equality and fraternal freedom. Preaching a "kingdom not of this world," he himself was most tempted by the splendor of the autocratic throne of the rulers of this world. Yet, this man-hater, known by the believers under the nicknames of "Demishka," and "The Professor," has had a far from impeccable past. He has repeatedly been penalized for anti-governmental crimes, and complicity with the fascists during the Great Patriotic War.

Released from his last jail term (in November 1967), Shelkov resumed his aspiration to power within the sect. He tried to enhance his shaken authority. To achieve this, he made all his assistants pass a psychological test, grossly encroaching on the freedom of views and independent judgment of the individuals, forcing those around him to share his thoughts and views.

Establishing a solid material base through the monthly collection of a double "tithe," from the entire income of the sect, he began to fight the Soviet state through secret methods, actively preaching among the "brothers in Christ" the "struggle against the beast and its image," i.e., against Soviet legislation on cults, atheism, and all other religious societies officially operating in our country, including his previous fellow-worshippers--Seventh Day Adventists. "Salvation is possible only through the blessing of V. A. Shelkov!" claimed apostles and preachers. All "non-believers and state atheists" were doomed to eternal damnation!

The leaders of the "Loyal Seventh Day Adventists" are raising their children in a spirit of alienation from the world surrounding them. Pamphlets imbued with hatred and malice and armed with mounds of fabricated facts distorting Soviet reality began to fill the bookshelves not only of all sect members but, through Shelkov's emissaries--agents, other religious societies. Pamphlets were fabricated and distributed bearing nerve titillating titles such as "Protest," "struggle for the freedom of Conscience," "O tempora! O mores!" and many, many other slanders which had nothing in common with the truth concerning the situation of believers in our country.

Justifiable, in this respect, is the indignation of sect member Yekaterina Polonskaya, who has repeatedly accused the clergyman: "Why do you drown believers with such malicious pamphlets? Why are you entering into a conflict with the state? What are we deprived of?"

"In the past," Polonskaya says, "you were destitute, you had no shelter or sufficient food. Today any kind of bread can be purchased for almost nothing. Look at the comfortable premises given simple working people! Why do we, the believers, have to fight against the state? Why is it that only insults come out of your pamphlets and mouths? I am not alone in holding this view. There are many believers who have not accepted your anti-Soviet propaganda. I

believe that the church has erred and that, instead of love, in the final account, your ideology will lead to fratricide."

Behind the shield of religion Shelkov and his accomplices impudently encroach upon the personalities and rights of the Soviet citizens--rank and file believers under their influence. In talks and sermons, and in clandestinely prepared and persistently disseminated publications they call upon the young people to avoid service in the Soviet Army, resorting to various means, including the use of strong drugs which disturb the normal functioning of the cardio-vascular system. They forbid participation in the country's social life, observance of the Soviet laws governing religious cults, the reading of fiction, and attendance of cultural-educational institutions, theaters, and movies. Students are not allowed to go to school on Saturday or join children's or adolescents' organizations. The sect's ministers "do not recommend" to the young people even to acquire a full secondary education. In a word, the young people are being deprived of the possibility to learn and choose a favorite profession. All this is not being done for selfless motives, for it is easier to mislead an ignorant and illiterate person and to dip into his pocket.

Nearly all ministers have an illegal status, using forged documents and leading a parasitical way of life. The double tithe collected is used for personal purposes, as profit. In the case of even minor disobedience or "deviation from the advice of the ministers," the leaders threaten the rank and file believers with "God's punishment." The disobedient are tried and subject to a variety of punishments. Abandoning all restraint, the fanatic V. A. Shelkov deals threateningly with the disobedient. Any member of a family of believers "who doubts the truth" is subjected to the most cruel repressions "in the name of the church." Even the most sacred ties linking people are severed, and the "heretic" is expelled from his home. He is forbidden to establish any contact, and to meet and talk with others. He is even forbidden to greet them.

Oleg Vladimirovich Tsvetkov, V. A. Shelkov's son-in-law, and his wife Rimma Vladimirovna (Shelkov's own daughter) became the first victims of V. A. Shelkov's despotism and wild cruelty. Holding a leading position within the sect, Oleg Tsvetkov put together extensive data accusing his father-in-law of gross violations of the foundations of Christian ideology. The proof cited by Tsvetkov deprived Shelkov of any justification. Enraged, he organized an unheard of reprisal against his son-in-law and daughter. At about 10:00 am they were invited allegedly to have a business talk. After the doors were closed, in the presence of particularly trusted individuals, they were faced with a factual trial. The Tsvetkovs looked at their father horrified. This was the first time they had seen him in this condition. Enraged, his shirt hanging out of his trousers, his hair standing on end, and with an enraged expression on his face, Shelkov ordered the accused to rise. Assuming a role similar to that of an omnipotent judge while remaining, in fact, a hooligan, he hurled the worst abuses on his children. Lightning poured out of his bloodshot eyes.

The trial of the "heretics" lasted 20 uninterrupted hours. Shelkov kept on their feet his son-in-law and daughter 20 hours on end. They were not allowed to sit down. They were not given a drop of water to drink. They were accompanied by a guard even to the bathroom. Whenever the "supreme judge" himself wanted to rest or eat, he ordered his servile servants to read specially written imprecations.

Accusing Oleg and Rimma of heresy, Shelkov ordered them to leave immediately their big house. In the evening a truck showed up. Several big men rushed into the courtyard. Grabbing everything under hand, they began to load up the truck. In a moment both yard and home became barren. Oleg and Rimma were moved by force to a small old house while Shelkov sold their big house. Andrey, Shelkov's eldest son, was subjected to a similar torture. The "holy peacemaker" extended over him as well his pastoral staff. In 1957, when the family lived in Dzharbul, Shelkov savagely dealt with his son Aleksandr as well. He beat his son with a thick bundle of sticks until the latter became unconscious. All that remained in the hands of the "well-mannered educator" were the short ends of the sticks. It was then that Aleksandr left his father's home forever, went to another republic, married, and even changed his last name. For many years hardly any of the believers were aware of these events which had occurred in Shelkov's family, the more so since Shelkov disseminated a version that Aleksandr had been "kidnapped and torture to death by the investigative organs." Yet another one of his sons, Petr Shelkov, was unable to withstand the "pinch life" at home and, leaving the sect, joined the ranks of the Soviet Army, after which he married and led his own life.

Presiding over the ruins of his progeny, caused by himself, and envious of other people's happiness, Shelkov became totally wild. Not even the appearance of a Christian mission remained, and the sect acquired the appearance of a Jesuit mafia. Mutual watching, reports, and slanders ensnared the entire sect. One after another families broke up and aged parents were expelled from their homes. Only was refused to the needy and to large families. Savage beatings and attacks upon "heretics" became more frequent. Displaying cruelty and abuse of individuals, the "holy father" stated that "he who does not listen to me, I shall make knuckle under."

Mariya Magadanetskaya learned and experienced a great deal ever since, on Shelkov's order, a house was purchased in Samarkand in her name where, subsequently, the Tsvetkovs moved. Shelkov organized the thorough surveillance of his son-in-law and daughter. Magadanetskaya had to submit a daily report on them to "God's deputy."

"Grandfather was interested," Mariya stated with indignation, "in a number of things related to the way of life and conversations of his daughter and son-in-law."

Reading this article, some believers may think that this could hardly exist within a religious society. Such were my thoughts as well. I plugged my ears and closed my eyes when exposed to the talks of those who were hurt by the ministers.

I was born in 1947 in the family of one of Shelkov's deputies. My parents and other ministers worked hard to prepare me for missionary work. However, the times and the spirit of today took their own due. My conscience objected to an ever greater extent to the bigotry and invalidity of the concepts formulated by the newly proclaimed "God." For this I was subjected to degradation and real persecution.

I am deeply convinced that under another system, had people such as Shelkov been granted total freedom of action, many thousands of simple and trusting people would have died. Cruelty, violence, vaingloriousness, thirst for profit, and intoxication with infinite power are the features of Shelkov's real face, the features of a "fighter for human rights," or "Christ in the flesh," as he is described by various Western radios.

In conclusion, let me cite the case of Klara Grevtsova who was, for a while, Shelkov's typist. Losing confidence that the sect would help her resolve vital problems, she told the "apostle" and the preachers the following:

"According to you husbands have only rights while wives have only obligations. Any type of wild injustice is justified with biblical texts. To kick a pregnant woman or lay hands on her is a prosecutable offense. Yet, you encourage such criminal actions. I cannot tolerate this and no longer wish to remain a member of your society. The world's ideas are far superior to those of the church. I have to turn to the state court."

She did and justice triumphed. An ever growing number of people are becoming disappointed in Shelkov and his sect.

Shelkov and his accomplices were properly punished and I think that even many sect members have begun to feel better.

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## REGIONAL

### SHCHERBITSKIY WELCOMES RSFSR DELEGATION

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 19 May 79 pp 1, 2

[Article "Meeting in the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party"]

[Text] Yesterday on 18 May, a meeting took place in the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party of members and candidate-members of the Central Committee Politburo of the Ukrainian Communist Party with delegates of the Russian Federation, leaders of creative unions and leading cultural experts of the fraternal republic, who had come to Kiev to participate in ceremonies marking the 325th year of reunion of the Ukraine with Russia.

Addressing the guests, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy said:

"With great satisfaction and, naturally, with pleasant excitement we have become acquainted with the outstanding masters of literature and art of the great Russian people and other peoples of the RSFSR. We are pleased by this meeting and certain that our arrival in the Ukraine will be a worthy finale to the celebration of a noteworthy date in the history of our peoples, the 325th anniversary of the unification of the Ukraine and Russia."

"Permit me in the name of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the republic to heartily welcome the government delegation of the Russian Federation headed by V.I. Kozhemyasov and the leaders of ministries, departments and all present at this memorable meeting."

"I hope that in these wonderful May days you are sensing not only the long-awaited warm weather, but also, and mainly, the warmth in the hearts of the entire Ukrainian people."

"Our noteworthy celebration of brotherhood is observed as a remarkable event in the sociopolitical and cultural life of the two fraternal republics and our entire country, an event manifesting the indestructible friendship and unity of the Soviet peoples and the celebration of the Leninist national policy of our party."

"And it is symbolic that the concluding arrangements in the statewide celebration of this historical date are taking place on the banks of the gray Dneper, the river associated since olden days with the historical destinies of the Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian peoples who emerged from a single origin. We can neither reverse the flow of the Dneper and Volga, nor can anyone ever shake our great unity or our deep brotherhood."

"In fact, speaking of major events, of turning points in the history of the Ukrainian people, which have determined its fate, we find the main ones to be, first, the historical unification of the Ukraine with Russia, which satisfied the basic interests of both countries and signified the realization of their age-long aspirations and hopes, and second, the Great October Revolution. The Ukrainian people are proud of the fact that following the great Russian nation under the leadership of the Leninist Party they rose in battle against the exploiters, for Soviet power and for a new life. The third major event was the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in December 1922."

"We are carefully preserving and always will preserve in our hearts the precept of the great Lenin that only 'with the united action of the proletariat of Great Russians and Ukrainians is a free Ukraine possible; without such unity, even talking about it is impossible.'"

"The entire historical course which the Russian and Ukrainian peoples have taken together and will take, always hand in hand, and their mutual striving for accord arising from a unity of origin, closeness of language and community of destinies and basic interests are confirmation of the legitimacy of Lenin's thought."

"There is a wealth of history of fraternal relationships between the Russian and Ukrainian peoples, whether concerning the many centuries of exchanging spiritual values, mutual assistance in war with common enemies or the friendship which has been reinforced and strengthened in the crucible of class warfare, in the fire of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Civil War and Great Fatherland Wars."

"Take our cultural interrelationships. They are so varied that even a superficial list of the separate, most characteristic items gives an idea of the pattern as a whole. Speaking of artistic literature, the first thing that comes to mind is the heroic "Slovo o polku Igoreve" [The Song of Igor's Campaign], a dramatic collective memorial of the fraternal peoples, the Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian. We remember also the fact that Ukrainian culture owes much to the activities in L'vov and Ostroga of the early Russian writer Ivan Fedorov. Our country will never forget that the great poet of the Ukraine, Taras Shevchanko, was redeemed from servitude by the progressive men of Russia."

"No, there is perhaps no one significant occurrence of classical and modern Russian literature which would not be well-known to our readers in the original or in a Ukrainian translation. The names Ryleyev, Pushkin, Lermontov, Herzen, Belinskiy, Dobrolyubov, Chernyshevskiy, Nekrasov, Tolstoy, Chekhov and many other leading writers have long been related to the Ukrainian people by their luminous hopes."

"Of course, the familiarity of Ukrainian readers with Russian literature is not limited to the names listed since it includes also a deep knowledge of the creative genius of Soviet Russian authors Maksim Gor'kiy, Vladimir Mayakovsky, Aleksander Fadeyev, Mikhail Sholokov and a number of other prominent modern writers who have brought world fame to Great Russian literature and to all of our immense native land."

"The creative power of the leading figures of Russian literature has always had and does have an exceptionally great significance for Ukrainian culture and also for the culture of all the peoples of our land. In this connection, the important role of the Russian language in the mutual cultural enrichment of the Soviet peoples and nationalities of our country as a means of international association should be noted."

"And today it is proper to emphasize that the victory of October has raised the process of mutual enrichment of the cultures of the fraternal peoples to a qualitatively new level and has ensured their comprehensive development. The realization of Communist cultural revolution in the country, the uniting of the broadest masses of workers in the construction of a new socialist life, the organization of a state system of museums, theaters and publishing houses and the accomplishment of other important measures are all making possible the fruitful enrichment and genuine blossoming of Soviet Ukrainian culture."

"Our nations are systematically exchanging the best achievements of spiritual culture such as the Days and Ten-Days of Literature and Art which have been in progress since 1926, the friendly exchange of art exhibits, the journeys of creative collectives to urgent construction projects and many other things. At present, for instance, it is hard to display the repertoire of Ukrainian theater without the plays of contemporary Russian authors and Russian classics. In turn, more than a hundred theaters of our republic have introduced their creative art to audiences of many cities in Russia."

"In this far from complete list of facts and events lies the real process of mutual enrichment of our nations, the means of spiritual growth of the Soviet people and their union with the cultural treasures of the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union. It can be said with certainty that there is no sphere in the spiritual life of our nationalities in which there has not been the most intimate creative interrelationship."

Comrade V.V. Akhremchukov spoke briefly about the republic, its successes achieved under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Leninist Central Committee of the CP(U).

"The Soviet Ukraine today is one of the large fuel, power and metallurgical centers of the country, a republic of highly-developed machine building, farm-machinery, textiles, powerful construction industry and large-scale mechanized agriculture. To more graphically display the scales and growth rates of production in the republic, I will cite this data. Today the plants and factories of the Ukrainian SSR produce three and one-half times more products than industry in the entire Soviet Union produced in 1940."

"The large relative significance of the republic in unionwide production has imposed a great responsibility on us. We all, from top to bottom, understand this and constantly try to improve the republic's contribution to strengthening the economic and defense power of our government. And the labor achievements are considered by our country a source of our nationwide Soviet pride."

"Especially deep quantitative and qualitative changes have taken place in the republic's economy during the sixth decade of Soviet power. The economic potential of the republic has practically doubled. The power available per productive worker in industry has increased 1.5-fold in this period and 2.5-fold in agriculture. The national income has increased by a factor of 1.6."

"It is pleasant to report that according to indicators such as growth of national income, the output of the majority of the most important types of industrial and agricultural production, the living quarters, schools, children's preschools and hospitals put into service as a result of state capital investments, by these and other very important indicators the republic is preceeding at the level or ahead of the five-year plan quotas."

"As in all fraternal republics, the material and spiritual level of workers' lives in the Ukraine is growing from year to year. Every year in the republic nearly 1000 families obtain new apartments. During 3 years of the current five-year plan the government has constructed schools in 481,700 locations. The real income per capita of the population increased 2.2-fold during the past 18 years."

"And here is what we are doing today in the field of science and culture," said comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy in addition. "There are 184,000 scientific workers right now in the Ukraine, 70 times more than before the revolution. Nearly a third of them are doctors and candidates of sciences."

"In the republic as in the country as a whole the change to universal middle education has been completed. It seems that we have already become accustomed to this formula and are accepting it as something that stands to reason and is customary in our life. But just consider this fact. Our various types of education embrace more than 17 million people, that is every third person of the republic. In the Ukraine an extensive network of libraries, clubs, professional and national theaters and museums has been created. Every year nearly 160 million books are published in the republic. More than 90 percent of the republic's population has the opportunity to view television programs, 75 percent of which are in color."

"There is only one conclusion possible from these figures. Only socialism ensures the comprehensive blossoming of national culture."

"All organizational and political work of the republic party organization and the republic's government is subordinated to accomplishing the resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the Central Committee Plenum and the Tenth Five-Year Plan quotas. In the center of attention of the Ukrainian Communist Party

Central Committee and all party organizations are found the central tasks set forth by the party congress. In the Central Committee Plenum in the period following the congress, the subjects of the operation of industry, construction and agriculture, personnel work, ideological work and youth education were considered in detail. The Central Committee attempted to imbue all activity of the republic's party organization with a spirit of great exactingness, discipline and efficiency."

"We are attempting to reflect in the life of every party organization the CPSU Central Committee line on strict adherence to the principles of collectivism in work, a prudent relationship with personnel, our training in the creative approach, initiative and constant striving for new, higher results and intolerance toward deficiencies."

Comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy emphasized that political circumstances in the republic are healthy, practical and creative. "And we validly consider that great credit in this belongs to our creative intelligentsia, scientists and engineering and technical workers. This situation is characterized by a great political and labor ascent, by the extensive scope of socialist competition, by the unanimous endorsement of the internal and external policy of our party by the workers of the republic and by the purposeful and fruitful activity of its Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo headed by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet comrade L.I. Brezhnev. The CPSU Central Committee and the union government in the person of Leonid Il'yich Brezhnev show constant concern for the development of the economy, science and culture of the Soviet Ukraine and offer us daily assistance."

"It is important to note that the party organizations have available powerful information facilities, an excellent basis for conducting political and cultural education work. In ideological work we give particular attention to developing labor activity, strengthening the patriotic, international and class education of people, especially youth, increasing the political vigilance of our people, the resistance to bourgeois ideology and schemes of imperialist propaganda, particularly of foreign nationalistic and Zionist centers. Right now training is underway for republic activists who will be concerned with implementing the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Education Work". Many workers of the ideological front must make serious reforms."

"Of course, we still have great difficulties and unresolved problems. Not all of the cadres are yet coping well with the tasks entrusted to them. As a result there are insufficient growth rates of labor productivity, individual failures in capital construction, insufficient rates of increase in the production of a number of agricultural crops, careless and at times irresponsible relationships of some managers to labor management and routine services to the population. We are aware of these deficiencies and are working persistently on their elimination."



"In order to work with maximum efficiency, to do everything with high quality and on time as is required of us by the CPSU Central Committee, we must learn much and teach persistently, especially workers of the middle and lower sections; teach not only what to do, but also how to do it."

In conclusion comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy said:

"In time many things in life are changed. But there are values which are not subject to any kind of circumstances. Such an eternal, permanent value for the Ukrainian people is its unity and friendship with the Russian people and all peoples of our country, the entire historical significance of which is so simply and amply expressed in the words: "Together forever!"."

"Thus spoke our ancestors, adopting the resolution on the unification of the Ukraine and Russia. So we speak today observing the 325th year of this noteworthy event in the life of our two countries. Such is the legacy of our future generation."

"We again welcome you with open hearts to the Ukrainian land and hope that you feel the full hospitality of the Ukrainian people, its wholehearted esteem and brotherly love for the Russian people. Permit me to wish you high spirits and an excellent and interesting sojourn in the land of the Soviet Ukraine, good health and great creative successes."

The leader of the delegation of the Russian Federation, assistant chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, V.I. Kochemasov, expressed heartfelt gratitude to the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the government of the republic, the Kievans and all the Ukrainian people for an exceptionally cordial welcome given to the cultural workers of Russia. He said this could only be received by the most kindred people whose arrival brings joy and with whom everything sacred and dear is shared. "We are deeply touched by such attention and see in it a display of genuine brotherhood whose roots are in the long-distant centuries, a brotherhood fostered by the great Lenin and the Communist Party created by him."

"In the Ukrainian land we again with special poignancy have experienced a united family feeling and have felt in spirit and heart the greatness of all that has been done here in past years. This is a land of blossoming economy, culture, art, a land of work-loving people and great talents, a land which is giving the country notable state and social workers and prominent cultural workers."

Comrade V.I. Kochemasov extended cordial greetings from the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the government of the republic to the leaders and all workers of the Ukrainian SSR.

"Every day for Russia and the Ukraine as for other Soviet republics there is constant and constructive labor, enthusiasm and heroism of workers, kolkhozniks and intelligentsia. It is pleasant to note that the Russian Federation and the Ukrainian SSR are working together closely in all areas of the national economy, helping one another and generously sharing experience. Whatever area of

life we take, we find everywhere hundreds and thousands of bright examples of fraternal peoples. The reciprocal journeys of delegations of the republics, oblasts, rayons and labor collectives on anniversaries have not only made it possible to demonstrate our achievements but also have promoted the strengthening of our cooperation in all fields."

"Today's arrival in the Ukraine," said V.I. Kochemasov, "is the largest such arrival of RSFSR cultural workers to another fraternal republic. Each of them came here not only from a sense of duty but also from a call of the heart. We all have an unforgettable impression of the recent appearances of Ukrainian art experts in Moscow. We saw performers who expressed the very spirit of the nation and the blossoming of its life. It appears that everything we do together has enormous political and educational significance."

Comrade V.I. Kochemasov spoke of the indeed remarkable achievements of RSFSR workers during the years of Soviet power. "The working class, kolkhoz farmers and intelligentsia of Russia are working in strenuous, business-like rhythm, accomplishing great feats, the resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress. The grandiose scope of work on the large-scale construction projects of Siberia and the Far East, the accomplishment of a comprehensive program to transform the nonchernozem zone are evidence of this. The CPSU Central Committee and the union government in the person of Leonid Il'yich Brezhnev are giving a great deal of attention to developing the productive forces of Russia and also the other union republics."

In conclusion V.I. Kochemasov gave the workers of the Soviet Ukraine words of warm love and best wishes from the Russian and all peoples of the Russian Federation.

Speaking at the meeting, the Chairman of the Board of the RSFSR Writers' Union S.V. Mikhalkov observed that the celebration of brotherhood and unity is a new source of creative inspiration for workers in literature and art of Russia.

In the meeting took part members and candidate-members of the Central Committee Politburo of the Ukrainian Communist Party N.M. Borisenko, A.P. Botvin, A.F. Vatchenko, G.I. Vashchenko, A.P. Lyashko, P.L. Pogrebnyak, I.Z. Sokolov, V.A. Sologub, A.A. Titarenko, V.V. Fedorchuk, I.A. Gerasimov, A.S. Kapto, Ya. P. Pogrebnyak, assistant chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers M.S. Orlik, leaders of a number of republic organizations and creative unions, prominent cultural workers and responsible workers of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

The meeting took place in a setting of exceptional warmth and cordiality.

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